(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Chennarayapattana, ATP	Dam	New	Ananta S/o Bukka	"	IA. Atp 10
Cumbum, KNL	Tank	New	Gopana	"	TI Knl 20 Cumbum
Bukkarayasamudram, ATP	Tank	New	Chikkavadaya	1364	Kaifiyat from Wars of Rayas
Bukkapatnam, ATP	Tank	New	"	"	Ibid.
Porumamilla, CDP	Tank	New	Bhaskara	1379	IAP.Cdp II-11
Tallapalli, ATP	Tnk	New	Jillelaramanaraju and Balaraju	14th Century	M.MSS 113. P. 86.
Haravi, ATP	Tank	Repair	Bukkaraya	1383	IA. Atp 325
Tripurantakam, KNL	Devarayanadi	New	Bhikshavritti Siddayya	1385	TI. Knl 362

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Idukurur, CDP	Southern Tank	New	Irugama Reddy	1386	
Madireddipalle, ATP	Tank	New	Pedabaira Raju	1386	Inadu dt. 2.1.86
Arikela, CTR	Tank	New	Balepinayaka	1392	ARES 226/1932.
Chinnakotla, ATP	Canal	New	Irugappadannayaka	1396	IA. Atp 12
Parnapalli, CDP	Canal	Repair	Irugappadannayaka	14th Century, 1386	IAP. Cdp. II-29
Tirumala, CTR	Channal	New	Mallanagal	1408	TTDI-I 194
Pendlimarri, CDP	Tankbund	Maintenance	Mallanayanigaru	1406-22	IA Cdp. 82
Onkaram, KNL.	Tank	New	--	1426	ASIR-1943-44

Dedicated to

Late Mr. G. Maddigundam

and

Late Mrs. G. Seshamma

my beloved parents

Contents

			Page
Preface			iii
Chapter I	Nature, Scope and Source	-	1
Chapter II	Agricultural Production	-	17
Chapter III	Land Owning Classes and Institutions	-	48
Chapter IV	Land Revenue and other Taxes	-	82
Chapter V	Village Community	-	117
Chapter VI	Industries	-	134
Chapter VII	Commerce, Coinage and Transport	-	157
Chapter VIII	Conclusion	-	207
Selected Bibliography		-	215
Appendix I	Irrigation Works in Rayalaseema	-	223

ABBREVIATIONS

A.M.	Amuktamalyada by Sri Krishnadevaraya
A.P.G.R.E.	Andhra Pradesh Government Report on Epigraphy
A.R.E.	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
A.S.I.R.	Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India.
A.S.C.	Andhrula Sanghika Charitra by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy
Barbosa	The Book of Durate Barbosa.
Cdp. Ins.	Cuddapah Inscriptions.
E.A.	Epigraphia Andhrica.
E.C.	Epigraphia Carnatica.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica
F.E.	Forgotten Empire by Robert Sewell, containing Chronicles of Nuniz and Paes
H.V.	Hamsa Vimsati by Narayanamatya.
I.A.P.	Inscription of Andhra Pradesh.
I.A.	Inscriptions of Andhradesa by M. Ramarao
J.A.H.R.A.S.	Journal of the Andhra Historical Reseach Society.
KSS:Agr. Syt. Kar	The Agrarian System of Karnataka.
L.R.	Local Records by C.P. Brown.
L.T.	C. Mackenzie Local Tracts Vols. 14
M.MSS	Mackenzie Manucripts - Summeries by T.V. Mahalingam
M.E.R.	Madras Epigraphists Report
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscription.
S.S.	Sukasaptati by Kadiripati.
T.I.	Topographical List of Inscriptions by V. Rangachari.

NAMES OF DISTRICTS

Atp.	Anantapur District
Cdp.	Cuddapah District
Ctr.	Chittoor District
Knl.	Kurnool District

CHPTER I

NATURE, SCOPE AND SOURCES

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES :

History is not a mere record of the lives and achievements of Kings and Emperors. It is more than description of wars and conquests, court life of monarchs and their queens, palaces intrigues and revolutions. It is no doubt true that political history forms the rock-bed of history in general. It is also true that history is past politics and politics is present history. Yet politics alone do not constitute the total history. Political life of a region or a nation is only small part of real history. The real history largely consists of the study of socio-economic forces. Any historical work of Rayalaseema would be incomplete without a survey of socio-economic aspects which moulded the Telugu Kannadiga heritage through the ages.

With this general view in mind and without resorting to any rigid preconceived theory the present study makes an attempt to fill the gap in several important aspects of economic history of Rayalaseema namely agriculture, industries and trade. Since agriculture was the King pin of

the economic system of Rayalaseema, extensive space is devoted to the study of this aspect. The ruler, the army and the peasantry formed three elements of the political structure. The ruler through his administrative network provided an environment for economic growth. In order to establish administrative stability he was supported by an army. The peasants had to pay both for the army and the sovereign. Hence, the relationship between the people and the land they occupied and exploited is a matter of general interest. This relationship on the one hand transforms the land and on the other, brings together a corporate life in the village communities. Common religious beliefs and rituals further strengthen these bonds. After agriclture, industries provided livelihood to a large section of the people. In many respects, industries formed the productive base of the economy. But the distributing function in the economy was carried on by trading communities. Hence, the study of economic conditions in any given region and period becomes so significant.

Rayalaseema, has been chosen as a distinct geographical unit for the present study because of several reasons. First, the region is now one of the three subcultural regions in Andhra Pradesh. In the past it was a centre of cross currents of several political, social, cultural and economic forces. It was almost the heart of the Vijayanagara Empire and as such the region perhaps derived its name from the Rayas of Vijayanagara. Therefore, the importance of documenting several phases of economic life of this region

cannot be underestimated. Secondly, Rayalaseema as an economic region, offered diversities in economic life. Thirdly, a very important period of the history of Rayalaseema is choosen for the present survey because varieties of sources are available and the period was significant for the integration of socio-economic forces in South-India. The period from 1336 A.D. - 1565 A.D. was a period of progress and development of the History of Vijayanagara. In order to document this progress, the region and the period are selected for the present study.

Rayalaseema, occupied a strategic position in the peninsular part of South-India. In the past it consisted of the districts of Chittoor, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Bellary. Later on in recent times Bellary was added to Karnataka. The capital of Vijayanagara Empire was located in Bellary district. Stretching along the rivers Tungabhadra, and Krishna having the river Pennar with its tributaries flowing through the central parts and with the outstretched Eastern Ghats and their forests Rayalaseema has a panoramic scenery. It was a centre of mineral wealth, particularly diamond which was available in Vajrakarur in Anantapur district. Many important forts of the Empire existed in Gutti, Penukonda, Adavani, Chandragiri and other places. The temples of Tirupati and Lepakshi emerged as big landlords in the rigion during the Vijayanagara Period. Hence the above factors encourage a scholar to investigate the material base provided by Rayalaseema for the glory of the Vijayanagara Empire. It was also observed by Friedrich

Engels "the economic structure of a society always furnished the real basis starting from which alone we can workout the ultimate explanation of the whole super structure of Judicial and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical and other ideas of given historical period"[1]. Therefore the study of the economic conditions in Rayalaseema help us to understand the fluctuations in other fields.

Scholars like Krishnaswamy Iyengar, K.A. Nilakanta Sastry, B.A. Saletore, P.B. Desai, N. Venkataramanayya, Father H. Heras, M.H. Sharma, M. Ramarao and others have extensively written on the political history of Vijayanagara, but they have not given much attention to the economic history of Vijayanagara. Scholars like T.V. Mahalingam, Appadorai, Burton Stein and others have worked on the economic history of Vijayanagara in general, but they have paid very little attention to economic aspects of Rayalaseema in particular. Keeping these objectves in mind the present study is undertaken to examine the salient features of ecomic conditions in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period from 1336 A.D. to 1565 A.D. and wherever necessary and appropriate a comparative study of economic institutions and traditions between Rayalaseema and neighbouring Kannada districts is attempted. This appears to be reasonable because Karnataka and Andhra shared many similarities in traditions, customs, manners, institutions and languages.

1. Fritz Stern : The varieties of History (New York 1956) P.145

RAYALASEEMA THROUGH THE AGES

Rayalaseema had a glorious past. Paleolithic and Neolithic ancestors traded along the river banks of Krishna - Tungabhadra and Pennar. There were, a good number of paleolithic sites in Rayalaseema. Saraswatipalli, Makravulapalli, Kanumalapalli, Chitvel, Kalasapadu in Cuddapah district, Guntakal, Vidapanakallu, Velpumadugu, Lattavaram, Karukumukkala, Kottakota, Uravakonda in Anantapur district were some of the paleolithic centres. The Neolithic sites were at Katamadevunikonda, Lattavaram, Vidapanakallu, Guntakal in Anantapur district, Vellatur, Mundalavaripalli in Cuddapah district, Bastipadu, Pattipadu, Kudalasangameswaram, Billasargam in Kurnool district and some sites in Chittoor district. In Rayalaseema the iron age had its effects in the centres at Guntakal, Mudgal, Devadulagutta, Malyavantham of Anantapur district, Pattipadu, Bastipadu, Kudalasangameswaram in Kurnool district. Yerraguntla, Avulapalli in Cuddapah district and in some centres in Chittoor district.

Jainism was also spread to Rayalaseema region. Konakondla of Anantapur district became one of the important Jain Centre of the past. There was a reference of the poet Mamulanar about the Vadugars forming the vanguard of the armies of Mariyar, sent against the chief Mohur. Vadugar literaly means the northerns and was the name applied in Sangam literature to the ancestors of the Telugu - Kannada people living in Deccan, immediately to the north of the Tamil country, whose northern limit was

Vengadam, the Tirupati hill. Satanikota and Veerapuram were the flourishing forts among the thirty famous forts of South-India as described by Megasthanese. Jonnagiri of the Kurnool district, according to a modern historian might be "Swarnagiri" the capital of southern province of the Asokan Empire because there were Asokan rock edicts at Yerragudi, the near by village[2]. The existence of Asokan rock edicts at Yerragudi in Kurnool district tells us about the expansion of the Mauryan Empire in Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema might have been called as Satavahana Ratta because it was included in Andhra Satavahana Empire. Futher, the name of certain villages like Sasanakota in Anantapur district Sathanikota in Kurnool district will also reveal the influence of Satavahanas there. After the decline of Satavahanas many dynasties rose to power. During this period there were pressures from the neighbouring kings who tried to spread their influence into Rayalaseema from the sixth century A.D. to the eighth century A.D. At first they established a small kingdom in Kurnool district under the suzerainity of Ikshavakus, later they extended their sway to Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts and finally they became vassals of the Pallavas. During the civil wars of chalukyas of Vengi and Kalyani and Cholas most of the chieftains of this region retained their independent existence by supporting Kalyana Chalukyas or Vengi Chalukyas at times.

2. *Dr. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao states that there was much scope to say that Jonnagiri might be Swarnagiri the capital of Southern Province of Asokan Empire because Yerragudi Inscriptions are not far off. Andhra Charitra -p.43*

During the thirteenth century Kakatiyas of Waranagal extended their authority towards Kurnool and Cuddapah region. From the very beginning of Vijayanagara Kingdom Rayalaseema had become the most important region as Bukkaraya, one of the founders of the Kingdom, made Jagatapi Gooty and Penukonda as his military headquarters at the time of the conquest of Hoysala Kingdom and Rayalaseema served as a spring board for the expansion of Vijayanagara Kingdom and the founders of the second, the third and the last dynasties of Vijayanagara Kingdom belonged to this region. There are many references to the origin of the name 'Rayalaseema.' The word Raya(la)seema appeared for the first time in the inscriptions of Sadasivadeva Maharaya[3]. The ceded districts - Anantapur, Bellary, Cuddapah and Kurnool as they were called from the time of their transfer by Nizam Nizamali to the English East India Company in 1800 A.D., obtained the name Rayalaseema in the regional conference held at Nandyal in 1928[4].

A poet Venkatakavi of the sixteenth century mentioned Rayalaseema, in his poem[5] composed in praise

3. *Cdp. Ins - P.6; I.A.P. Cdp. II. No.287. Sugumanchipatnam.*

4. *Sri Sadhana, A Telugu Journal - 1st Dec. 1928 Issue. Page-2.*

5. *Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library - Madras-Catalogue of Telugu manuscripts - Vol. 2; No. 380, PP 324-25. "Gayakulasvaraya balakhanulu matla Anantaraju Sow Ksheya dhara drevvirani Ceppedud rintiyakaka velpum Rayalaseema lona ceturanga balambulatoda vairamul payaka Yunnavaru sari palemu vaicina yetlasramun".*

of Matla Anantaraju to whom his work 'Abhishikta Raghavam' was dedicated.

There are references also to its cultural entity even during the early periods. It was called during those times as Vadugubhumi or Vadugavali[6]. Rayalseema was a land of villages as it is even today. The study of the life of the village community covers the different aspects of economic activities of the people.The main occupation was cultivation. In agriculture production mostly the same tradition and customs of the early period were followed. The main classes engaged in agricultural production were Mahajanas of the Agraharas almost all the subcastes of Sudra community and Panchamas or Malamadigas. Several subcastes of Sudras adopted the diversified cottage industries and the Malas a group of the last varna served as agricultural labours. In addition to this they took up weaving profession. The foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1336 A.D. opened a new chapter in the History of Rayalaseema. As we pass on to the medieval ages the entire Rayalaseema was brought into the administrative control of the Rayas of Vijayanagara. Rayalaseema became the part and parcel of Rajagambhirarajya which was the heart of the empire. The Rayalaseema region was dotted with Agraharas and Brahmadaya lands. Temple construction, restoration and preservation contributed to the emergence of Devadaya Land tenure. Amaranayakas of various categories established their

6 *E.I. Vol. XI, Gudimalla Inscription P.280 S.I.I. Vol. IX-I No.5, Panigatam.*

local power under the paramountacy of Vijayanagara rulers. Economic wealth was mobilized and distributed for the implimentation of the ideals of Vijayanagara Empire to preserve, conserve and propagate Dharma. The battle of Talikota (Rakkasi Tangadi) on the 23rd of January 1565 resulted in the Vijayanagara army being completely routed by the allied forces of the Sultans of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Golkonda and Bidar. It was a catastrophe which changed the course of Rayalaseema history.

THE SCOPE OF THE WORK :

The work has been divided into eight chapters. Chapter One deals with the introduction, Scope of the subject and evolution of the sources. The Second Chapter deals with the agricultural production, classification of lands, irrigation facilities and the main classes engaged in agriculture. The Third Chapter deals with land holdings and ownership. The Fourth Chapter is concerned with the land revenue and other taxes and various methods of assessment and collection. The Fifth Chapter analyses, the life condition of peasants, landless labour, the Sudra and Pariahs and their status on Agrarian society in the region village organization and how it promoted agrarian integration and the members of the village community. Chapter Six deals with industries, occupation based on the caste guilds, craft guilds, the main manufacturers, cotton and silk textiles, Jewellery and metal industry. The Seventh Chapter describes trade and Commerce. The subtopics are Merchant guilds, Inland trade, Commercial centres, weekly sandidays,

exports and imports and throws light on coinage, weights and measures and means of transport and their impact on economic conditions. The last chapter presents the general conclusions which emerge out of the present survey.

SURVEY OF SOURCES :

(a) INSCRIPTIONS : 'Inscriptions are the most authentic and the largest source of information for our study' Barring a few the bulk of inscriptions of Rayalaseema are of gift deeds. They record the gifts of lands and other commodities granted to the brahmanas, to the temples and to the mathas and other service inams given to the individuals. There are also inscriptions recording the gifts granted for the improvemnt of agriculture and recording tax remissions for the reclamation of waste lands and forest lands. Inscriptions also contain agreements for the irrigation works undertaken and commercial arrangements made or on the Judicial dispotitions. They also throw light on the administrative setup and the policies of the state. They are very useful source for the study of the patterns of land holdings and systems of land tenures. The donors might be the kings or royal officials or the village assemblies or associations like merchant guilds or private individuals. The status of the donor is particularly helpful in determining the type of ownership state, peasant and private and also in assessing the different classes of intermediaries who were created between peasants and the state. Inscriptions also reveal the relationship between the land owner and the tenant and also the agriculture labour. They are also helpful

for the study of the development of Trade and commerce and coinage. They are an authentic source for the study of trade routes and arrengements made for the safety of travel.

Inscriptions belonging to Rayalaseema have been published in the Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Andhrica, Epigraphia Carnatica, A.S.I.'s South-Indian inscriptions and inscriptions of Andhra Pradeh etc. The summaries of them have also been published in the Topographical list of Inscriptions of Madras Presidency, Annual Reports of South-Indian Epigraphy, Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy, Archeological Survey of India Reports, Andhra Pradesh Government's Reports on Epigraphy etc. These apart, numerous inscriptions, with the useful notes, have appeared in the pages of learned journals and periodicals, notably the journals of some of the branches of the Royal Asiatic Society, Indian Antiquary etc.

Hundreds of inscriptions, both published and unpublished belonging to the period 1336 A.D. - 1565 A.D. and hailing from different parts of Rayalaseema, have been the main source of information in preparing this work. It is true that the epigraphs were never intended to be historical records but still, conclusions derived from inscriptional material are generally solid and "serve as a peg on which to hang scraps derivable from other sources".

(b). COINS : The study of Numismatics is very much useful to know the economic conditions of a particular period. The legends, denominations of the coins and the

metal used - Gold, Silver, Copper etc., and their standard weight tell us something about the economic development. The bulk of the coins and their exchange value with the other foreign coins also reveal the trade and commercial conditions of the times. The coins collected by the Antiquarians and their photographs and publications enable us for the comparative study of the information collected from the inscriptions and literary sources and to corroborate the data collected. The coins in circulation during the Vijayanagara period were Gadyana, Mada, Varaha, Panam, Nishka, Swarna, Ruka etc.

(c). LITERARY SOURCES : Generally the literary evidence suppliments and corroborate the evidence gathered from inscriptons. As far as the study of land tenures are concerned the literary works of the period do not throw much direct light on the problem as such, but serve as a guide to understand the general socio-economic background. Among such works a few may be discussed here.

Madhava, minister of Bukka I wrote a copious commentry on the text of Parasara entitled Parasara Madhaviyam. This work deals with Rajadharma. It is a mixture of law, morality and religion. This is edited with an introduction by Venkanna. (Bangalore 1890) Krishnadevaraya's Telugu Poetical work Amuktamalyada contains an expositions of the principles of administration which he practiced.

Indian literary evidence for Vijayanagara period is

accessible to research scholars in two collections of sources brought out by the University of Madras. The first one is entitled Sources of Vijayanagara History. This was edited by Nilakanta Sastry and N. Venkataramanayya, and published in 1946. Hundreds of extracts have been brought together in these collections and they are drawn from works in all languages like Sanskrit, Persian, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam. Generally the texts have also been translated fully into English; in some instances, however, a brief summery of the essential details has been considerd, enough to guide research scholars who are unable to read the originals. In a comprehensive introduction N.Venkataramanayya has discussed the historical significance of the extracts and sought to indicate the ways in which our knowledge of History of Vijayanagara is amplified by the new material presented. For example, the records known as Dandakaviles or Kaifiets have been presented in these volumes. They are village registers containing information about the political, religious, social and economic conditions of the village.

The Mackenzie collections contain traditional and late state papers on the revenue systems of those times, Col. Mackenzie, the surveyor-general under the East India Company, through his native agents collected village accounts in the shape of manuscripts on the history of the various localities, inscriptions, revenue settlements, the agriculture and the village industries and mines and local traditions. The manuscripts contain valuable information on

the economic conditions of the villages of Rayalaseema. If they are corroborated by the evidences from the inscriptions and contemporary literature they can be taken as authentic and genuine. Those manuscripts are mostly preserved in Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras and some of them are classified. The services of wilson and C.P. Brown in this regard are invaluable. Some of them were copied and rearranged in Volumes under Local Records by C.P. Brown.Some of them were published under summaries of Histoical Manuscripts in the Mackezie collections and in volumes of "A Descriptive catalouge of the Telugu - Manuscripts - Mackenzie local tracts". These works are very much valuable for the study of the subject.

Attavana Vyavahara Tantram is one of the interesting documents preserved in Meckenzie collection. It is said that it was a late document drawn in 18th century by an anonymous author at the request of one of the earlist officers of the East India company who wanted to know the manner and the method of the Government of Vijayanagara. though the Vijayanagara Empire fell to pieces in the middle of 17th century the administrative systems had been followed in certain parts of the country where the subordinate chieftains of the last emperors asserted independence. The author of Attavana Vyavahara Tantram took up the administration of Chitradurga a principality of the old empire, as the basis to reconstruct the Vijayanagara polity and drew up the document.

The Telugu Prabhanda literature depicts the social

and economic conditions of the times. The Emperor Sri Krishnadevaraya's Amuktamalyada not only gives the administrative conditions of the sixteenth century, espicially financial-revenue and expenditure of the state, but also contains the descriptions of the trade routes, Industries and commercial conditions of the times. The Vasucharitra of Ramarayabhushana and Manucharitra of Allasani Peddana give us the information on economic conditions. Chatus of Srinatha as given in Chatupadya Manimanjari by Veturi Prabhakara Sastry give us valuable information on food habits and trading conditions of Rayalaseema in fifteenth century. The later works like Suka Saptati by Palakaveri Kadiripati of seventeenth century and Hamsa Vimsati by Narayanamatya of Eighteenth Century give valuable information on housing patterns in villages, trade and trade roustes, market centres, imports and exports etc.

The periodicals and journals of Andhra Historical Research Society, Itihas-Journal of Andhrapradesh Archives, Bharati - Telugu literary monthly issues commemorative volumes like Ramalimga Reddy Shasthabhada Purti (Dec. 1940) Sex Centinary of Vijayanagara empire and the Districts Gazetteers and Manuals etc., are good references for the study of Economic Conditions of Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period 1336 A.D. - 1565 A.D.

(d). FOREIGN TRAVELLERS, ACCOUNTS : Many foreign travellers visited Vijayanagara Empire between 1420 A.D. and 1565 A.D. and they have left us their accounts

which are valuable to the scholars who undertake research of various kinds. They describe economic conditions as they saw without unnecessary bias. The following are the important foreign travellers who visited the various parts of the empire.

The Italian traveller, Nicolo Conti who came to the city of Vijayanagara in 1420 A.D. or 1421 A.D. was the first Europian visitor. The Persian ambassador Abdul Razzak came to Vijayanagara at about the same time. Athanasius Nikitin, the Russain trader spent some time in Deccan round about 1470. The Portuguese sources are of critical importnace for the study of agrarian sysytem in Rayalaseema. The work of Durate Barbosa who was in India from A.D. 1500 to about A.D. 1516 and the Chronicles of Demango Paes, from A.D. 1520-22 and Farno Nuniz, who spents three years in Vijayanagar (A.d. 1535-37) are of value not only for the history of this period but also for the state of administration and society at the time[7]. Tavernier the French traveller who passed through Rayalaseema districts Chittoor, Cuddaph and Kurnool gives us the vivid descriptions of the safety of travel in existence and the prevailing poor conditions of the roads and abudance of food grains in the region. He also visited the diamond mine at Ramallakota and noticed the poor condition of the labour there.

7. Swell, Robert : *A Forgotten Empire* N.B.T. Edn. N. Delhi. 1970

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Rayalaseema was the territory that existed between the rivers Tungabhadra and Pennar. The region today consists of the districts of Chittoor, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh. It was so named because it was directly administered by the rulers of Vijayanagara. Rayalaseema is a compound word consisting of terms Raya and Seema. Raya was the title held by Vijayanagara rulers and Seema denotes a distinct administrative region. Rayalaseema had military and strategic importance in the empire. It was closely connected with Tamilnadu and Karnataka.

ARABLE LANDS AND CULTIVATION :

The manner in which the arable land was used by the people who inhabited Rayalaseema forms the subject matter of this chapter.

The methods of agriculture like classification of arable lands, various types of cultivation, sowing, impliments, crops, the promotion of agriculture through the construction of tanks, wells and canals and reclamation of land for extension of agriculture finally the classes engaged in

agriculture are discussed in this chapter.

The sources of information obtained from the Rayalaseema region point out the fact that the main occupation of the people was agriculture. It was the basis of bureaucracy and rural economy. Arable land played a very important role in the socio-economic life of the people of Rayalaseema.

There were many factors that made land as the basis of existence in Rayalaseema, first, the abundance of land. The existing evidence hardly speaks of the scracity of the land. Whenever and wherever opportunities were provided or conditions suitable people brought the land under the plough. This factor may prove the supply of land to meet the increased demand for agricultural products. Secondly, there was relative scarcity of money in rural areas. This was a peculiar phenomenon confined to Rayalaseema, but it was a general feature of the economy during the Vijayanagara period. As a result, the importance of land ownership tenancy gained momentum. It does not necessarily mean that there was no circulation of money in rural areas. It only means the relative scarcity when compared with other factors of agricultural production. Thirdly, the people of the region were not mobile, particularly in the agricultural sector when compared with mercantile and industrial sectors of the economy. The economic transaction of land for all exigencies became a common practice of the people of Rayalaseema[1].

1. Apadorai,s 'Economic Conditions in South India'. P-25.

The sources from Rayalaseema indicate that from the contemporary view of the knowledge exhibited in agriculture by the Telugu peasants was well developed. This is clear from the scientific classification of arable lands on the basis of soil, situation, availability of artificial irrigation. Such a knowledge was utilized by the Vijayanagara government in fixing assessment for different kinds of arable lands.

Panta Polalu was the term used in the sources to describe the arable lands in general. The term indicates the actual land under the plough. Pantapolalu[2], Kshetram[3] or Chenu[4] were local terms used in Rayalaseema areas. Chenu in general sense is a field. They included wet lands, dry lands and garden lands.

The wet lands were known as 'Taribhumi'. These lands were irrigated by tanks and canals. Rayalaseema was watered by two important rivers, namely the Tungabhadra and the Pennar. These two rivers had also many tributaries. Among them mention may be made of Chitravati, Kushavati, Papagni, Sagilèru, Cheyyeru, Gunjana, Pincha, Paleru. There were small rivers like, Kaundinya, Suvarnamukhi, Bahuda, Kalyani, Hagiri and Tadakaleru. The lands fed by these rivers were also known as 'Taribhumi' or Niraramba.

2. *S.I.I. XVI. 226 Markapur.*

3. *I.A.P. Cdp. II 55 Rameswaram.*

4. *Ibid, 97 Pandillapalli.*

The agricultural lands which depend mainly upon rainfall were called as 'Mettapolalu'. 'Mettapolam' was dry land. Another term used to denote dry lands was 'Vattipolam'[5]. An inscription from Ahobilam refer to another term to denote dry land namely 'Kadaramba'[6]. But the inscriptions from this region generally mention the term 'Chenu' to denote dry lands. We come across variations of 'Chenu like 'Varichenu' and 'Jonnachenu'[7] . The meaning of these Telugu terms indicate that such lands depend on rainfall for cultivation. Though different terms were used in different parts of Rayalaseema, they point out the same classification of land.

Garden lands were called as 'Thotalu'. It was a common term used to denote a garden of any kind. However, different terms under this category were used to mention different types of gardens. Thus in the epigraphs of this region we come across terms like 'Varithota' and 'Pudota'. 'Varithota' refers to paddy field. 'Pudota' refers to flower gardens. 'Nandanavana' was also a term used in connection with flower gardens. Usually around temples, Nandanavanas existed. The Tirumala-Tirupati and Ahobilam temples had such types of gardens[8a]. The flowers from the 'Nandanavanas' were used for the worship of Gods. Fruit

5. SII XVI 263 Ch. Ahobilam

6. Ibid 2544 Halaharvi.

7. Ibid

8a. Ibid 268 GUNDALA.

gardens were known as 'Pandlathotalu'. Inscriptions point out that gardens of different varieties were watered by 'Cheruvulu' or tanks or 'Bavulu or wells. The garden produce consisted of 'Narikela' or Coconut, 'Ponka' or Arecanut, 'Mamidi' or Mango, 'Arati' or Plantain, 'Panasa' or Jackfruit, 'Nariṇja' or Orange. 'Ponkalu' or Arecanut and 'Tamalapakulu' or Betel leaves were also grown in the gardens[8b]. 'Amuktamalyada' a poetical work in Telugu written by Sri Krishnadevaraya contains a description about the people who spent the day time in gardens, because they provided cool weather[9].

Cultivable waste lands were called 'Bayalubhumulu'. Some waste lands were being used as "kallams" for thrashing grain and to keep the cattle[10] while some were being brought under cultivation.The local records of Talamanchipatnam reveal the arrangement made for the cultivation of waste lands in the villages of Talamanchipatnam, Madhavaram, Peddakomerla, Bondulapalle, Ganganna palle, Mylavaram and Vyaparala. According to these records the ryots cultivating wastelands in these villages had to pay to the Government during the first eight years rent only of two rukas per field and half a ruka of Kavali. At the end of this period the ryot had to pay

8b. Ibid, 174 Ch, Ahobilam; Ibid; H.V. 4-134

9. AM. 2-71.

10. Even now some open grounds are set up in the outskirts of villages for the use as Kalams.

the same rent as on the neighbouring lands. Even today we can see these 'bunzer' or waste lands around villages. Rayalaseema farmers used to grow fodder in the waste lands or 'beedus'. Grass plants and Millet plants were being used as fodder for cattle. In 'Hamsavimsati', a poetical work of the 18th century many kinds of grass plants were mentioned[11].

Pasture lands were called as Gaddibillu. At the time of foundation of new villages by the kings, some good portion of the land was kept apart as grazing grounds. 'Gaddibeedu'[12], 'Gopracharabhumi' or Gocharamu[13] were the local names given to these pasture lands. Cattle grazing was forbidden elsewhere except in the pasture lands of the village. If grazed, the cattle would be impounded in pens (Bandili doddi) erected for the purpose[14]. Even today we can see the continuance of this tradition in villages. Watchmen who were appointed to watch the cattle were not expected to graze them in the fields.

Along the ranges of the Eastern ghats that outstretched in Rayalaseema there were a good number of forests in the eastern parts of Kurnool and Cuddapah districts and south-eastern parts of Chittoor district. Many

11. SII II, 5. Sec. II.

12. I.A.P. Cdp II 174 Niduzuvi

13. Mitakshara II P. 160.

14. ARE. 1919 Part II, Para II.

Forests can be seen in these parts of the country even today. But in Anantapur district the vegetation in forest was thin along the Palakondalu, a branch of eastern ghats. Tavernier, the French traveller saw elephant hunting (kheda) while passing through Chittoor and Cuddapah districts during the early decades of the seventeenth century[15]. The forests formed a source of income, and a source for domestic necessities like furniture, food, honey and medicinal herbs. The importance of forest product as explained in Kautilya's Arthasastra was understood by the people of Rayalaseema[16]. There were many tribes of people living in the forests of Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period. Among them mention may be made of Chenchus, Dasaris, Boyas, Mannes, Ekala and Erukala who were mentioned in Amuktamalyada[17].

The agricultural production in Rayalaseema depended upon the fertility of the soil. The farmers had the knowledge of classification of soils according to their fertility. The crops raised on land varied in accordance with the kinds of soils. The black-soil belt stretched through the central parts of Rayalaseema. The peni-plains with hillocks and shrubs and bushes covered the western parts of Rayalaseema. The red soils were found in the eastern parts.

15. Tavernier, 'Travels in India', in V. Ball-Book I, Ch XVIII P 275

16. Kautilya 'Arthasastra' (Shamasastri Edition) P. 339.

17. A.M. 4 - 221, 222.

In Anantapur district the red soil occupies 82% and the remaining is black soil[18]. In Chittoor district the red soil and the red loam soil are prominent[19]. In Cuddapah district black cotton soils, black loam, red sand and red loam soils are prominent[20]. In Kurnool district there are black cotton soil and red loam soils[21]. The black soil is known as black cotton soil because of the increased cotton yield. Renadu an ancient province in Rayalaseema, stretching towards Eastern and South-Eastern parts, obtained of its name because of its black soil belt- Regadi[22]. Regadi-Nadu or Renadu means the province which had black soil. The red soil and red laom soil are good for gardens and also for dry crops.

Many crops were grown in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period. Inscriptions and literary works mention many such crops. The main crops grown under cereals were rice and cholam or millet, many varieties of paddy were raised. They were garakasannalu, Budam, Pishana, Pancha ganneru, Kesari, Telabalu, Chennangi, Yerrabakkalu, etc.,[23]. The author of Hamsavimsati a Telugu Kavya of the 18th century gives a long list of 101 varieties of paddy[24]. Cholam

18. Andhra Pradesh Year Book/84. P. 149.

19. Ibid P. 152.

20. Ibid P. 155-156.

21. Ibid P. 176-77.

22. S.I.I. X 504, 594, 595, 609, 639; E.I. XI, PP 337-46; E.I. XXVI No. 42.

23. L.T. Vol I to 150; Vol. 135 M 642 Vetapalli.

24. H.V. 4-128 PP. 204-5.

formed staple food of Kurnool and Cuddapah district as on today. Thota Jonna, Pacha Jonna, Chitta Jonna, Yerra Jonna were the main varieties[25]. Yava (wheat), Arike, Korra, Sajja and Ragi were also raised in some areas[26]. The pulses grown were Uddi or Minimulu, Sanagalu, Pesalu, Kandulu, Alisandalu, Batanilu, etc[27]. The Oil seeds sown were Kusuma, Nuvvu, Amudalu etc.[28] The fibre plants grown were cotton only[29] Neeli (indigo) which was useful in dying industry was also grown[30]. Varieties of vegetables were raised in the gardens in Rayalaseema during the period[31]. Coconut, Mangoes, Orange, Citron and Lemon were some of the fruits grown in the gardens[32].

The foreign travellers have also left an account of the crops grown in Rayalaseema, Paes (1520-22) noticed the cultivation of rice, grains, beans an infinity of cotton, horsegram, wheat and "other kinds of crops which are not sown in our parts"[33]. He also saw the cultivation of oil seeds

25. L.T. Vol. 121, M 32, Rangapuram, M 599, Gorantla, Vol 133 M 629 Vobulampalli M 63 Nagavemula.

26. F.E. Paes P. 230, H.V. 4-127.

27. H.V. 4-127; LTS Vol 121 Ramapuram, Koppolu;

28. Ibid.

29. L.T Vol. 121 Ramapuram, 130 Gorantla, 135 Vetapalli, Koppolu.

30. L.T. Vol. 130 Gorantla, 135, Vetapalle, Koppolu, 121, Ramapuram.

31. F.E. Paes P. 230.

32. S.I.I. 174 Ch. Ahobilam; F.E Paes P. 25

33. F.E. Paes, P. 230.

and extraction of oil from the same by means of machines[34]. In the rich and fertile valleys in the vicinity of Vijayanagara city rice and graden produce like orange, lime, citron, radishes and cabbages "as in Portugal were grown[35]. But wheat was not so common as the other grains because no one eats it except the Moors"[36].

Nuniz (1535) noticed the cultivation of wheat, gram, rice and millet. According to him millet was the most commonly consumed in the land. Betal cultivation was carried out in greater part of the country[37], and this statement of Nuniz is supported by Abdul Razzaq who says that not only betal leaves but also arecanut were extensively cultivated in the country and these products were held in great esteem not only in Hindustan but in many parts of Arabia and Ormuz[38].

State promoted the cultivation of wet crops, particularly cash crops like paddy, sugarcane, cotton spices which fetched increased amounts of revenue, through the construction of irrigation works like tanks, canals and wells and through reclamation of waste lands. Temples, village

34. Ibid. P. 231.

35. Ibid. P. 235.

36. Ibid. P. 248

37. Ibid. Niniz P. 347-8.

38. Elliot and Dowson; 'History of India as told by its own historians' Vol. IV. P. 114.

assemblies and private individuals did not lag behind in the task, as it was considered an act of 'Dharma'. Such a policy which was a product of strong religious zeal and practical necessity, had two effects on the agrarian economy of the time; first, they helped the peasants to increase the yield; secondly, the state received increased amount of land revenue because the principle was that wet lands should pay more than dry lands.

The cultivation of paddy, sugacane, coconut, arecanut and betal leaves, on arable lands like Taribhumi, Pantapolalu, Kshetram or Chenu and Thota and the production of two crops a year namely Karthika and Vaisakha[39] crops, were possible only with the help of extensive irrigation facilities. "That the peasants of Rayalaseema had a good knowledge of the seasonal division of crops" may be gathered from inscriptions with particular reference to the crops reaped in Karthika and Vaisakha seasons. In the neighbouring Kannada districts also we notice the existence of the same division of seasonal crops[40]. The Kartika crops were reaped between November and January as at present. It closely corresponds to Kharif crops in other parts of India[41].

39. Kharif, Rabi crops, E.C. X, KI 207. SII. X. 421 (1268AD) Gudimetta.

40. E.C. IX, HK 105, Text P. 222; E.C. X KI 207 Text part II P. 48; K.S.S. Agr. Syt. Kar. pp 24

41. Wilson, glossary P. 265; Ibid.

Vaisakha crops were reaped in April-May[42] and this corresponds to the rabi crops. The agricultural year was thus divided into two different periods. One is from June to October which corresponds roughly with the south-west Monsoon proper. The other is the cold-weather months of November, December, January and February. The sowing of Karthika crop began with the first rains of South-West Monsoon which was known in Karnataka as Mungar rain, Tolakari in Rayalaseema and the sowing of Vaisakha crop began with later monsoon which was called Hingar rain[43]. Harvesting of two crops in a year and rotation of crops were known to the peasants[44]. The above comparative study of seasonal division of crops in Rayalaseema and in Karnataka indicate certain common traditions in the area of agricultural production.

Rayalaseema did not produce pepper and other spices. Probably spices were imported into Rayalaseema from their production sources in Karnataka. The contemporary sources refer to this aspect. In coastal regions of Karnataka, according to Nuniz, pepper was produced in large quantities[45]. The fact that some of the

42. Ibid P. 539; Ibid.

43. Gubbi Mallanaraya, Bhavachintaratna P. 45 Stanza No. 2; Ibid P. 2.

44. E.C. XII Mgl : Mungar and Hingar crops or ealy and later growing crops are mentioned in Rattamatam. chap. IV. PP 13-17, Barbosa Vol. I. P. 192 mentions two crops a year; Ibid.

45. F.E. Nuniz P. 368.

cash crops like sugarcane, spices and paddy which were exported from the Vijayanagara empire to foreign countries during the period under review, were produced on a surplus basis indicates the importance of irrigational works.

IRRIGATION :

In medieval period, control over irrigation works and primary producers was more important than mere ownership of extensive land holdings, because land was available in plenty. The human tendency is to possess that which is comparitively dear or precious. Hence all classes and individuals evinced keen interest in the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. Very often, mere construction of a tank attracted a settlement of people around it as is proved by many inscriptions which record the establishment of new villages after cutting down the forest and construction of a tank[46]. Irrigation works, the object of which was the artificial application of water to the land for the purposes of agriculture as a means of supplementing the natural rainfall have existed in Rayalaseema as in other parts of India, from time immemorial. It is to be noted that such irrigation works were unknown to Northern Europe during this period[47].

There are the rivers like Krishna, Tungabhadra,

46. S.I.I., IX (II) No. 440.

47. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol III P. 316.

Pennar with tributaries, Chitravati, Kushavati, Papagni, Sagileru, Cheyyeru, Gunjana, Pincha, Paleru smaller ones like Kaundinya, Suwarnamukhi, Bahuda, Kalyani, Hagiri and Tadakaleru flowing through Rayalaseema. But they are not so wide as to drench the outlying fields and they also do not contain sufficient water. Some of them dry up during the summer. The comtemporary Protuguese traveller Domingo Paes stressed the importance of tanks or water sources in a country which lacked rivers. He says "this country wants water because it is very great and has few streams. They make lakes in which water collects when it rains, thereby they maintain themselves. They maintain themselves by means of some in which there are springs better than by others that have only the water from rain, for we find many quite dry, so that people go about walking in their beds and dig holes to try and find enough water even a little for their maintenance'[48].

In additon to these tanks, people constructed dams to divert the river water to the channels or to the tanks. The state promoted the cultivation of wet crops particularly the commercial crops like sugarcane, cotton etc., through the construction of irrigarion works like tanks (cheruvulu, canals (kaluvalu), and wells (bavulu). This increased the extent of arable lands and at the same time increased land revenue to the state. This is explained in Amuktamalyada written by the great Poet-King Sri Krishnadevaraya[49].

48. F.E. Paes P. 231.

49. A.M. 4-236.

The irrigation works in Rayalaseema may conveniently be divided into three categories - lift, storage and river water which are represented by wells, tanks and reservoirs and canals respectively. Providing water was thought to be religious and meritorious act. It was described as one of the 'Sapta Santhanas'[50] Vanamu (forest), Gudi (temple), Cheruvu (tank), Thanayudu (son), Dharma Prathista (maintaining ethical values) Nikshepam and Bhumi (land), were considered as the Sapta Santhanas or seven acts productive of religious merit[51]. All the well-to-do people of the age were desirous of acquiring religious merit by performing atleast one of the Saptha Santhanas if they could not do all. The Prabhanadas of the period also stressed the importance of irrigation works[52]. In Amuktamalyada it is stated that the State should create Irrigation facilities[53] and land should be given to the poor ryots on easy terms with favourable rate of assessment. By performing the acts of constructing a temple or digging tank or donating lands as gift either to the gods of the temples or to the brahmanas it was said that one could acquire ever lasting good name or peace.

As Rayas of all the four dynasties encouraged

50. L.R. 14. Camallapalli H.O Pushpagiri P. 41.

51. Ibid Vanamu, Gudiyunu Cheruvunu/ Tanayudu, Dharma Prathistha dhara Nikshepam/Bhoominimodalugu Santasamugu/Hanagudu Bhoomapunipudichchen.

52. Pinaveerabhadrudu. 'Shringarashakuntalam'.

53. A.M. 4-236.

migration and founding of new villages[54], there is no doubt about the rulers taking keen interest in the promotion of agriculture through the construction of irrigation works. Some of the irrigation works exist even today and water the garden lands stretching miles and miles along the northern bank of Tungabhadra in Bellary district[55]. Perhaps there is some truth in the statement of Sir Thomas Munroe, a famous British Administrator of the nineteenth century. He says "to attempt the construction of new tanks is perhaps a more hopeless experiment than the repair of those tanks which have filled up, for there is scarcely any place where a tank can be made that has not been applied for this purpose by the inhabitants[56]. Harihara II dug many tanks and protected people as if they were his children[57].

Sri Krishnadevaraya in his Amuktamalyada states that the state should create irrigation fecilities by construction of tanks and excavation of canals so that it can improve its finances[58]. Nuniz in his chronicle describes the dam constructed by Bukkaraya II across Thungabhadra near

54. A.S.C. (cp Ins) PP. 298 - 300

55. Bom. Gaz. Vol. XXII. P. 258.

56. Quoted in Gibbs "History of Deccan" Vol. I. P. 168

57. E.C.V. Cn. 257; E.C.V. Bi. 75.

58. A.M. 4-236, Desa vaisalyamartha siddhikini mula
mila vakinthaina guntakalvalu rachinchi
Nayamu pedaku narin goru nanu, nosangi
Prabala jesina narthadharmamulu perugu.

Vijayanagara. He says "this water provided much use to the city that increased its revenue by more than three hundred and fifty thousand pagodas"[59]. Robert Sewell describes it. "It is a most extraordinary work for several miles the channel is cut out of the solid rock at the base of the hill and is one of the most remarkable irrigatiion works to be seen in India"[60].

Fenro Nuniz discribes how Krishnadevaraya completed irrigation work with the assistance of Portuguese Masons, and Jao Della Ponti. He also constructed a big dam and a channel at Korregal and Basavanna channel. "By which" Nunwiz describes "they irrigated rice fields and gardens in order they might improve their lands he gave the people, the lands which were irrigated for nine years until they had made their improvement, so that the revenue already amounted to 20,000 pagodas[61]".

In addition to Vijayanagara Kings, their Governors, Local Officers, Royal Servants, and Philanthropists spent much money on the improvement of irrigation fecilities[62]. Construction of temples, tanks and canals formed their main activities. Dams across the rivers or streams were

59. F.E. Nuniz : 259.

60. Ibid. R. Sewell P. 50

61. Ibid. Nuniz. PP. 345 , 347

62. I.A.P. Cdp. II. 53 Ravulakolanu P. 68; 166 Kucchipapa; Cdp. Ins. Tirumaladevarayapuram PP. 355-56

constructed. Mudda Dannaik, a governor, under Krishnadevaraya constructed ten minor dams[63]. Major Henderson said "the position of the anicuts have been cho sen with great judgement and channels have been formed with consumate skills"[64]. Channels were excavated both by Government and private individuals and village assemblies. One Kasavinayaka, the kattiga of Maha Mandaleswara Katari Saluva Immadi Narasimha Constructed a canal in 1494 A.D.[65]. He also constructed a tank in the same year[66]. Tanks and wells were dug and they were extensively used for irrigating lands. Kapila and Mota were used in lift irrigations. Anantarasa, Minister of Bukkaraya excavated a tank called Bukkarayasamudram and built a temple of Sankara on its bank[67]. At Porumamilla, Bhaskara alias Bhavadura son of King Bukka and Governor of Udayagiri employed one thousand labourers every day, and it took two years to complete the tank[68]. It reveals the technical knowledge of the engineers of those days. Often Mahamantri or Mantris used to execute the construction of water works at the instance of the rulers, entrusting the work to private parties, who would receive a cash award or

63. W. Francis. Bellary dist. Gazetteer. Henderson's Report P. 19

64. Ibid.

65. I.A.P. II 53-54 Ravulakolanu PP 63-64.

66. Cdp. Ins, Irrigational facilities P. 19.

67. T.I. (Atp) Bukkaraysamudram 1.

68. I.A.P. Cdp. II Porumamilla P. 10.

Dasavanda or the Kattu Kodage land according to the nature of work. The person so entrusted could be a prince or an artison or a common merchant or a priest or a peasant. He was to execute the work at his own cost in return for an assignment of plot of land which was to be irrigated by the water of the tank. The plot of land was to be tax free with hereditary rights of ownership. Such a plot of land was called Dasavanda or Kattunkodage. Some times entire village was given for that person. In 1530 A.D. the Mahanayankacharya, Narasanayanigaru gave dasavanda lands to certain persons for digging a channel[69]. In 1548 A.D. Mhanayankacharya Vonnam Pedda Obulu Naidu made arrangements for the repair of a tank by sanctioning dasavanda gifts of lands to the persons who executed the work[70]. In 1597 A.D. for constructing a bund to a tank at Reddicherla dasavanda gifts of lands were given to the local farmers[71]. The village assemblies also used to undertake constructions or embankments on the rivers to obstruct floods. The residents of Pottapinadu met in the Mandapa called Chitrameli and decided to collect money to construct an embankment across the river Cheyyeru[72]. Tankbunds, Canals and Wells demanded instant care and attention. Heavy rains or floods might cause breaches or break the sluice. Therefore for

69. *F.E. P. 289; I.A.P. Cdp. II 106 Kuchipapa*

70. *Cdp. Ins. P. 28.*

71. *Ibid. P. 350.*

72. *I.A. (Cdp) 433 Attirala.*

maintenance of tanks or water works in good condition some land as Manya was given to the person appointed for the purpose. The tradition of granting dasavanda inam to selected ayacutdars on the condition of maintaining the tanks or canals was prevalent in Cuddapah district[73]. Provision was also made to remove the silt at the bottom of the tanks and to strengthen the tank bunds at the time of floods or rains. A water cess was also being collected from the ryots who used the water of the tank. Often grain was collected by the Ayagars or by the village assembly.

As seen from the epigraphical evidences it is observed that the Rayas and their subordinates and the philanthropic public showed much interest in the construction of canals, tanks, wells and in their maintenance[74]. The Sangama dynasty ruled the kingdom for one and half centuries but only a few irrigation works were taken up, where as during the period of Tuluva dynasty which had a reigning period of 65 years more works were taken up by various agencies like the state agency or private parties. During the 14th century, a beginning was made in improving irrigation facilities by digging wells and tanks and excavating channels. There was much progress in the 15th century, durign the 16th century there was much more development of irrigation fecilities. About three times of the previous number of works have been recorded in the inscriptions,

73. *T.I. Vol I 132, 156, 157, 524, 854, 860; S.I.I. Vol nos. 55.64.270.*

found in Rayalaseema. As for the progress of the agricultural production the 16th century was the century of progress as we find the benevolent regime of Sri Krishnadevaraya during the poriod and the later half of 16th century witnessed the decline of the Vijayanagara empire.

RECLAMATION OF LANDS :

If irrigation works of the period converted dry lands, into wet lands, the area under agiculture was extended by reclamation of waste lands. Two improtant factors like the gradual imcrease in population and increasing demand for agricultural products encouraged the extensions of the area under cultivation - Kings, Princes, Officials of the state, agraharas, village assemblies, temples, mutts, and private individuals took keen interest in the reclamation of lands[75]. As land was available in plenty the problem of the period was naturally to extend the area of cultivation and in this respect the state came forward and granted remissions of taxes for a fixid number of years and other concessions to those who brought fresh lands under the plough. Individuals often applied to the government for the grant of cultivable waste lands in view of the fact that price was cheap and remissions were easily obtainable. Under such circumstances the state did not demand its share until the individuals who reclaimed waste lands realised profits after meeting their expenditure. Some times stone charters ware granted to

75. A.M. P. 496.

those persons who brought lands under cultivation which had long remained fallow and stocked them with the ryots. It is interesting to note that even Brahmanas on many occasions founded the new villages by reclaiming forests and constructing tanks.

From the beginning of the establishment of Vijayanagara empire, the Rayas used to encourage migration to Rayalaseema from the neighbouring territories. They offered the migrants free land and tax exemptions[76]. Inscriptions of the region refer to a specific land grant called Kavul for the purpose of encouraging migrations, particularly into the forest regions. The rulers encouraged migration from the territories like Molakaseema into Rayalaseema where there were a number of forests. Proudadevaraya granted a Kavul to the migrants Muttadasaris from the north granting them forest lands when he visited Ahobilum[77]. There were a number of such Kavuls granting forest lands to the migrants during this period. A copper plate grant of Peda Belagallu and Aspari of Saluva Narasimhadevaraya, reveals the Kavuls issued to the people of Molakasima, Gorantlasima, the villages of Bellakallu, Banala, Amanuvalu, Sathanikota and Devarakonda to reclaim the forest land around Dronachalam and Asvampuri[78]. The agent of

76. A.M. 4-256; A.S.C. Cdp. dt. s' 1412 Aspari; cp. dt. s 1414 Pedabelugalli LR 36 Akkapalli P. 163; Ibid Talamanchi Patnam P. 26.

77. M - MSS - Mnt 117-6 Kaifiyat of Dasaripalli P. 114.

78. A.S.C. Cp. of Aspari PP. 298-300

Achyutadevaraya granted a Kavulu to the farmers of Neravati community who migrated from Kurnool, to build a village in Gandikotasima[79]. The Vijayanagara Kings encouraged the development of forests on the borders of the kingdom to enabel the forest tribes to settle down so that they could check the advance of the enemies of the Kingdom[80].

FAMINES :

Inspite of the fact that extensive irrigation works existed in Rayalaseema, still agriculture was a gamble in rainfall and the failure of which resulted in the famine conditions. It occured due to several causes, such as drought, inundation, failure of crops and diseases like plague etc,. The inscriptions from Rayalaseema rarely refer to conditions of famines.

Wanton destruction through war and invading armies might be the causes of famine in our period. Whenever army invaded, the people of villages used to run away, without caring for their cattle, stores of grains and standing crops. The army also caused great destruction to the irrigation works. Lack of fast and effective means of communication hindered the relief operations. Carts and pack bullocks were the only means by which surplus agricultural products could be transported from one place to another, and hence any relief measures for an afflicted area were

79. L.R. 36 Akkapalli P. 163.

80. A.M. 4-256.1

neither immediate nor easy. Sometimes the demand of rent was reduced during the time of droughts, in order to lighten the distress of peasants.

It is sometimes held that a total failure is unknown except in single village or in small districts. In the very worst years, when the crops were everywhere poor in particular and villages totally destroyed, the produce is equal to 8 or 9 months consumption and the deficiency is made up by grain of the former year ramaining on hand and by importation from the neighbouring provinces where the season may have been more, favourable. While this was probably true in many instances, some cases show that this is not the whole truth. The famines of 1396 which is said to have affected[81] the whole of the Deccan seems to have been severe in its effect. During this dreadful famine distinguished from all others by the name 'Durgadevi' we are told, "the whole districts were entirely depopulated" and the people suffered much.

A few contemporary travellers like Paes could not but observed that the bulk of population lived perniciously near the margins and that they hardly had more than what was needed for bare life and posessed no capacity to withstand the personal or political changes. There are inscriptions which throw some information on the difficult days passed through by the people. Famine, plagues and

81. Loch. Bom, Gaz, W. Francis Ch. VIII P. 123.

Marijwara were given as reasons for migration of the people in an inscription dated 1390 A.D.[82] In 1472 A.D. there was a famine in Deccan. As a relief measure the rulers issued orders for rehabilitation by granting Kavulus. In 1548 A.D. Achyuthdevaraya granted kavul to the farmers of Nervati community of Kurnool district to build a village called Gollapadu, in Gandikotaseema[83]. The Athavana Vyavahara Thantram contained the active work taken up by the Government to supply the necessary food grains to the region where there were drought conditions[84].

In the 15th century, the administrators issued orders extending exemptions from Bitti Birada and other taxes and fixed the rate of rent for cultivating the fallow lands[85]. The rulers used to come to rescue the people from the oppressive land revenue collections by remitting land revenue at Velpumadugu in Uravakondasima[86] and at Pulivendula[87] and at Yelanji in Rayadurgasima[88]. At Perusomala the local rulers had to come to an agreement

82. *M.E.R. 1907. Para 53.*

83. *L.R. 36 Akkpalli P. 163*

84. *Attavanavyahartantram : Meckenzie collection M.P.R. Edn P. 17.*

85. *L.R. 36 Talamanchipattanam P. 26; S.I.I. IX Part II, Velpumadugu; S.I.I. Vol XVI 115.*

86. *S.I.I. IX Part II - 633 Velpumadugu.*

87. *I.A.P. (Cd p) 120 Pulivendula.*

88. *I.A. (Atp) 403 Yelanji*

for just collections[89]. Krishnadevaraya has expressed his dislike against the oppressive officials in his Amuktamalyada in the 16th century[90]. It is found that due to drought conditions rulers extended facilities for rehabilitations of migrated people. There were instances that local officers inviting the people who deserted the village to come and resettle by extending remission of all types of taxes and other imposts[91]. There is no evidence about the government adopting a famine policy. But the Atthavana Vyavahara Tantram contains some interesting passages about the methods adopted by the medieval government to give relief to the people in the famine affected areas. The following is the passage.

"The government may open trade operations on their own account during times of scracity. As they maintain large trains of packbullocks they can transport corn and other commodities without expenses to the regions affected by famine from places where they are in abundant[92].

Yet the above instances prove that the state had undertaken some relief measures to give relief to the distressed people and to remit the taxes and other imports. The tmeples also had played a major role in undertaking

89. S.I.I. XVI 115 Perusomala.

90. A.M. 4-232.

91. S.I.I. IX Part II 681 Chyabala, M-SSS 19-1-4 Kaifiyat of Kautalam.

92. Attahavanavyahara tantram - Meckenzie collection M.P.R. Edn P. 17

the relief measures by opening poor feeding centres[93].

CLASSES ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE :

Agriculture was main occupation of the Sudra castes which was a heterogeneous body comprising several sub-castes both higher and lower. Usually the Reddies, Kammas and Velamas owned extensive estates. Some of the Brahmanas and Vysyas too had estates. Reddies and Kammas tilled the soil, but the Kammas and Velamas of the Teugu country were military communities of par excellence[94]. The other sub-castes in addition to their diverse professions worked in the farms as farmers or tenants and also as agricultural labourers. The Malamadigalu, the fifth Varna, constituted the bulk of agricultural labourers[95]. There was mobility of population. Usually the Sudra caste migrated to other regions where they could find work. They were the enterprising people in clearing the forests, reclaiming the land and foundng the new villages[96]. Some forest lands were also being given to the tribals living in the forests[97]. The non-agricultural classes who owned extensive estates appointed tenants from Sudra castes. There was exploitation of the tenants and the labourers by the feudal classes. The

93. S.I.I. XVI 253, Miduthur.

94. Venkataramanayya - 'Studies in the third dynasty of Vijayanagara', P. 360, 80;

95. Ibid P. 361.

96. A.S.C. PP296-300

97. M.MSS. Mnt. 117-6 Dasaripally P. 114; A.M 4-221.

cultivators had to toil hard.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR :

Labour was one of the means of agricultural production in Rayalaseema. There were two classes of labours and serfs. The serfs who worked throughout the day and night on the farms were tied to the land. The condition of life of hired labour was better than these people. They did not even have freedom. They were transferable along with the land, when sold. They were brought to or forced to be serfs to clear off the debts owed to the landlord[98]. According to Vignaneswara of a slave rescued his master from eminent danger, he should be allowed to have the share of a son[99]. Anyhow their conditon was not so precarious as stated by Buchanan and other western travellers who visited South India, a little later in the medieval period. The bonded labour had been in existence in Rayalaseema till recently, when the State Government passed emanicipation acts.

The trends in the agrarian systems of Rayalaseema during the period under study indicate that there was a continuous growth of the non-cultivating class and institutions and the details of which would be discussed in the next chapter. Here it may be pointed out that this class was a

98. Major, India - Travels of Nicolo Conti, P. 31.

99. Vignaneshwara, 'The Mitakshara'. Quoted by Appadorai in Economic Conditions in South India' P. 318.

product of a custom namely the issue of landgrants free of taxes (on many occasion) in lieu of various kinds of civil, religious and military services rendered to the society of the time, for the perpetual enjoyment of the donees. Village hereditary servants like Gauda (headman), Shanubhoga (accountant), Talavara (watchman), 12 Ayagars and Brahmana landlords living in Agraharas and institutions like temples (of various sizes) and Mathas constituted a large body of such a non-cultivating class of An.cient and Medieval Rayalaseema. The presence of such a class in the agrarian structure naturally leads us to presume the existence of a group of tenants and labourers. It is not likely that this class actually ploughed the fields and reaped the crops.

With regard to the agristic serfdom in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period, a few conclusions may be noted. First, the forces like famines, droughts, wars, debts for marriages and other ceremonies and regions where the low and untouchable castes were widespread, were the sources of agristic serfdom. Secondly, there were serfs who were attached to the soil and they changed hands with the sale of lands from one landlord to another. Thirdly, whatever may be the moral or ethical judgement against agristic serfdom, it certainly provided protection to many against unemployment and under employment in feudal societies of the past. Lastly, with the establishment of British power, particularly in the second half of 19th century when due to the extension of cultivated area and reclamation of virgin land, the gradual displacement of

the weaving population and the subsequent crowding on the land, there was an increasing demand for free labour and agristic serfdom gradually declined or got rid of its archaic features.

There was Ayagar system in vouge in Rayalaseema during this period. Among the ayagars there were blacksmiths, carpenters and cobblers who assisted the cultivators in manufacturing agricultural implements, carts, ropes, leather buckets like Kapils etc.[100]

From the above discussion we can draw the following conclusions. The agricultural production was localized during this period because of the absence of industralization, urbanization and effective means of transportation. Agriculture was the main occupation or primary industry on which all the classes of the medieval society depended. And it was the source for the prosperity of the society.

The classification of arable lands Kadaramba Niraramba, Thotaramba etc., and the seasonal division of crops into Karthika and Vaisakha, the methods of sowing by a drill fixed to gorru diversity of crops all indicate that the knowledge of Agriculture was well developed in Rayalaseema and the peasants had a good working knowledge of agriculture. The fact that Rayalaseema was not only self sufficient in production of food grains, but also

100. A.S.C. P. 160 Further Sources. P. 312; MSS Mnt 15-6-8 sec 10 PP 34.

produced surplus which was marketed through the channels of trade within and without, may be gathered from the attention paid to the reclamation of waste lands and construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The state and the people of all walks of life attached much importance to the construction of water sources like wells, tanks and canals and that they had considered this construction work as an act of Dharma. This helped in turn both the peasants to increase the yield and the state to receive more land revenue because wet lands had to pay more tax than dry lands. The Sudras, Reddies, Goudas, Velamas and Poleyas formed the class of primary producers assisted by hereditary artisans like carpenter, blacksmith and cobbler etc., Even some of the brahmanas took cultivation as an occupation which was prohibited by sastras.

A good knowledge of cultivation of variety of crops including cash crops, Universal interest shown in promoting agriculture through the construction and maintenance of irrigation works and reclamation of lands and the display of common enterprise in the matters affecting agricultural production were some of the salient features of Agrarian Economy of Rayalaseema, of this period.

CHAPTER III

LAND OWNING CLASSES AND INSTITUTIONS

As part of the study of economic conditions of Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period, we examined the question 'how land was used' in the previous chapter. Another important question concerning the agrarian system of the region is-who owned land. An answer to this question involves the study and identification of the land owning classes and institutions in the region.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of land ownership in the agrarian system of any community. In Rayalaseema, the land has always been the only source of income, the exploitation of land was the only means of livelihood for different classes of people and the institutions of Society. In fact every one looked at land as a means of livelihood, including religious institutions like temples, mutts, charitable institutions, private persons, kings and their officials all depended on the income of agricultural land.

BENIFICIAL LAND TENURES

BRAHMADAYA TENURES

The Brahmanas constituted a very important section among the land - owning classes of the region. They generally acquired land through gifts from the Vijayanagara government, Vijayanagara Officials and also from private individuals who belonged to the different castes and classes in society. The tenure under which Brahmanas held land may be classified as beneficial tenure. There were many factors which contributed to the emergence of Brahmanas as land-lords under this tenure. They were as follows:

The feelings of pity and benevolence were primary force which was operating in those times and which led to the creation of land-grants under beneficial tenure. They found expression in religious and charitable gifts. The foundation of Vijayanagara had a religious background. The founders were inspired by the ideals of protection, preservation and promotion of Hindu Dharma and culture in all its aspects, such as religion and religious institutions, traditional learning, lores, literature and arts. The Vijayanagara rulers were highly religious. They expressed this ideal in a variety of forms. One was the sign-manual, Sri Virupaksha inscribed in Kannada characters at the end of their copper-plate documents. This manifests their firm faith in God and belief that they were his instruments whosoever be the ruler issuing the charter it was assigned in name of the guardian deity of

the empire. Bukka I (1336-1377) had the title of 'Vaidikamarga Pravartaka' (Promotor of Vedic path) and Harihara II (1377-1404) had the title of 'Vaidikamargasthapanacharya' (Establisher of the Vedic path) and during the time of Vijayanagara, Hindu religion received liberal patronage from the rulers. Sri Krishnadevaraya in his Amuktamalyada points out the importance of protecting Brahmanas in Society[1].

The Vijayanagara inscriptions in many parts of South India offer evidence to show how land-holdings of the Brahmanas were protected from the possible encroachment of the primary producers. For this purpose we have to carefully study the imprecatory remarks that appear at the end of almost every land charter which records land given to the Brahmanas. A few examples are given below :

"Between protecting a grant and making a new grant, protection is more meritorious than making a grant. By making a grant one attains heaven, but by protection of a grant one attains a region from which there is no return. Land granted to the Brahmanas is the only sister common to all kings. She is not to be enjoyed by the hand (taxed). It is twice as meritorious to protect another's grant as to make a grant oneself. By seizing other's grants one's own grant becomes fruitless. He who seizes the land given away by himself or by others will be born as a worm in odour for sixty thousand

1. I.I.H. IV, P. iii, V PP. 270, 245, A.M., 4:207,9,17

years[2]".

"He who violates this charity will incur the sin of killing brahmanas parents and cows on the bank of the Ganges[3].

"Whoever destroys this pious act will incur the sin of killing his own parents, preceptor and God at Varanasi[4].

"Whosoever destroys this may his house, be burnt, no children be born to him. Stained with a murder of a thousand Brahmanas of Varanasi, he will incur the guilt of commiting five great sins[5]".

AGRAHARAS

The Agrahara was a village assigned to learned Brahmanas for their maintenance. It existed in the Medieval Karnataka, Tamilnadu, and Andhra Desa as in other parts of the country. The Brahmana shareholders were known as the Mahajanas. The mahajana assembly managed the affairs of

2. *E.I. 3.Pedachepalli plates of Devararaya PP-31-43, Ibid 4. Srisailam plates of Santayalinga PP. 44-51. TI Ctr 174 A Dandapalli, I.A.P: Cdp 135 Pushpagiri, Ibid Eguvapalli, Ibid 218 Devagudi, Ibid 222 Korrapadu; E.C. V (New Series) T.Narasapura 289, 1519 A.D.*

3. *I.A.P. Cdp. 135 Pushpagiri; EC. V 289, 1346 A.D. LR 18M 326 Vayanur P 63 I.A.P. Cdp. 11-61 Lebaka P 69-70 (1502 AD); - 38 Nandalur.*

4. *S.I.I.-IV. 803 Tadipatri*

5. *114-1 Karivena P. 91; MSS Mnt 143-3, PP 221-3; SII.X. 248 . 1209 A.D.; I.A.P. Cdp. 11. 55 Rameswaram, PP 65-6 1495 A.D.*

Agrahara. In the Vijayanagara times also, we have abundant evidence of their existence and corporate activities; their various donations to the temples. The Agraharas served the purpose of small University centres managed by the Mahajanas. The Mahajanas were men of learning. The Agraharas were free from the encroachment of the soldiers, and the tax collectors. They were supported by the kings, the queens, the nobles and by the rich and the poor.

Agraharas were formed in various ways in the Vijayanagara period. The king or with his consent his officers created them. Either the donee was a single person or a group the donor himself distributed the land among different shareholders.

Generally the lands of the village held by Brahmanas were tax free or sarva manya Agraharas. They need not pay land revenue, but at times they had to pay quitrents fixed for ever, so that the holders enjoyed a permanent light assessment[6]. These were known as Arthamanya. They were free from other taxes.

To secure religious merit lands or villages were donated to Brahmanas. Brahmanas in turn had to perform certain services which were of relgious nature. Mention may be made of reading vedas, puranas and sastras in the temples, explaining the auspicious days and imparting

6. M.A.s L.T. M.s. 115-10 Vaddiraka, Dasaripalem. P. 110.

religious instructions[7], some times lands were granted for their services at the temples as priests or Pujaris[8].

Benefits enjoyed by the donees under beneficial tenures varies. It might be either ownership of the gifted land[9] or the assignment of land revenue due from the land-niyati srotra[10]. Complete ownership of the lands meant the eight fold rights of possession. Astabhogas - Nidhi, Nikshepa, Jala, Pashana, Yakshini, Yagami, Sidda, Sadhya[11] (burried wealth, burried property, water, stones and minerals, actual privilage, prospective rights and privilage, produce, and uncultivable property or products.)

In Niyatsrotra the donees were entitled the state rights i.e., they could collect quit rents from the farmers cultivating their lands in Agrahara. The villages were also donated for imparting religious instruction[12]. They were known as Srotriyam or Niyata Srotriyam.

7. Cdp. Ins. Thimmapuram (Gandikota Kaifiyat) PP. 78-79 Ti. Ctr. 273 Narayanvanam. I.R.A. Review 1965-66 Gorantla. Atp. P. 61.

8. T.I. Ctr. 174 A. Kriya saktipuram.

9. S.I.I. XVI 46 Panyam. PP 4-9. 50 (150 IAD)

10. T.I. Ctr. 273, NaryanaVanam; T.I. Atp 28, Mundimadugu.

11. S.I.I. XVI. 133 Perusomula (Knl) PP. 146-47 M.M.S.S. Mnt. 114-1. P.91. Karivena.

12. E.I.I. 3. Pedachepalli Plates of Devaraya PP 39-43. (A.D. 1428)

The donees of Agrahara might be either one, the head of the family or some members who were known as Vrithidars, enjoying Vrithis or shares in the lands according to the conditions laid in the inscription or stipulated by the community. If there is one donee it is known as Ekabhoga[13] and if there is community ownership it is known as Gana bhoga[14]. As times passsd on Ekabhoga Agraharas were transformed into Ganabhogams.

But vrittidars were forbidden to sell or mortgage their share to a sudra. Some of the ruined Agraharas were renovated by the rulers or their officers. there were a good number of such Agraharas in Rayalaseema[15].

The Brahamanas of Brahmadaya village provided loans to the cultivators when they were in distress and also constructed irrigation works with their own funds for the purpose of improving cultivation.[16]

The disputes in the distribution of vrittis or the

13. T.I. Ctr. Cp. 6/1912-13 Dandapalli (AC-930), SII, IX, II-693 Ravadi P 683. IAP. Cdp. II. 95 Tippalur, ibid 27 Turimilladinne

14. M.MSS 114-Karivena, 9.A A Review 1965-66 Gorantla P 461·

15. M. MSS Mnt 143-3 Jayarekha, P 221 ibid 114-1. Karivena; Ibid, 144-3 Kaifiyat of Macanuru ibid. Lt, Mnt. 115-10. P 110 Veddirala and Dasaripalli. M. MMS. Mnt 118-18 Velagacerla.

16. EC IV, Ga A.D. 1372; M.A.R. 1941, No 48 P. 225, TP A.D. 138; EC XI, Dg. 23, 1410 A.D.

succession over them were settled by arbitration[17]. There were a good number of agrahara villages were during this period. In literary debates villages were also given as prizes[18]. The private individuals used to donate pieces of lands to Brahmanas as Krishimanya for religious merit. An inscription at Halaharvi dated 1561 A.D. contains a gift of land to an individual Brahmana as Krishisarvamanya to be cultivated by the donee himself[19]. There were instances of transferring the vrittis to the others for monetary benefit. The Niduzuvi inscription date 1385 A.D. contains the transfer of Vritti lands - three tums in extent in favour of one Nagajiya son fo Virajiya by four hereditary Jiyas of the devasthanam.

The tradition and religious urge contributed for the Brahmadaya tenure. Both the rulers and the rich gave arable lands as gifts to the Brahmanas for the religious merit. The Brahmanas were expected to serve as purohits and to impart vedic and religious education. The Agraharas became centres for vedic and religious education. Some of the Brahmanas read puranas at the temples and also acted as astrologers or purohits. They were exempted from taxes and other duties. the creation of Brahmadaya tenure uplifted the position of Brahmanas as land holders enjoying material benefits. But the state had lost not only the land revenue but also lost

17. M.MSS. Mnt. 114-1 Karivena P. 91; Ibid Mnt 143-3, 3a. PP. 221-3.

18. Cdp. Ins. C.P. of Pedadanduluru P. 162

19. I.A.P. Cdp ii - 18 Niduzuvi

direct contracts with the tenants or peasants especially in Agrahara villages. The Brahmanas had a place in the traditional Ayagar system.

DEVADAYA LAND TENURES :

Devasthanams or temples also owned lands. They acquired lands mostly by donations. Such grants were known as Devadaya. Temples were not only serving as religious and social centres, but also acting as big landlords. During the period under review, most of the temple lands endowed to temples were the gifts of kings, queens, officials, private persons and village communiies.

As in the case of Brahmadaya lands, here also we notice the fact that the main purpose of granting lands to temples was to acquire religious merit. We get references, to many interesting purposes for which lands were granted to the temples by kings with a view to 'secure a strong empire'[20] and to record their visits to the temples[21] and as birthday presents with an expectation that their governments might continue as long as Sun and Moon[22]. Common people donated lands to temples to secure the four objects of human desires, namely, Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha or in

20. S.I.I. XVI, 260 Ahobilum.

21. Ibid. 161, Miduthur.

22. I.A. (Cdp) Athirala (432) dt. S' 1399 (1477) A.D.

order that merit and prosperity might accrue to the donors' relatives[23].

The temples at Srisailam and Ahobilum in Kurnool district and at Pushpagiri in Cuddapah district at Tirupati - Tirumala in Chittoor district and at Lapakshi in Anantapur district received a large number of land grants and Devadaya villages. Among these Tirumala-Tirupati devasthanam received the most[24]. Harihara II and Devaraya II gave some villages as gifts to Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam, but Saluva Narasimha was the greatest of the benefactors[25]. Sri Krishnadevaraya visited many shrines Tirupati-Tirumala. Kalahasti, Ahobilum, Srisailam temples etc. The Devasthanams also received many presents and Jewellery, Achyuta Devaraya and Penukonda Veerappannayya, the Mahatalavara of Vijayanagara gave many villages to the Lepakshi temple[26]. The Devasthanam managements used to improve the conditions of agriculture by providing irrigation fecilities like tanks and channels[27]. Vegetable gardens and

23. *S.I.I. XVI.268, Gundala; Ibid 174 Ch. Aobilum, T.I. (Knl) 448. Sri Sailam. I.A. (Ctr) 183, Tirumala.*

24. *Epigraphical Report of T.T.D. P. 115.*

25. *Ibid (Epigraphy Report of the T.T.D.) P. 220.*

26. *S.I.I. IX - II 537, Chalivendla; Ganapathihalli 572, 580 Nanadicherla, 588 Sadashivarayapuram; T.I.A.tp. 2 Villages.*

27. *Appendix I.*

flower gardens were raised in Devadaya lands. Srisailam, Tirupati-Tirumala and Ahobilam had their flower gardens[28].

Temples of Rayalaseema mentioned above received lands for specific religious services to be conducted in the temples. The donors specified the services in details for which land grants were made. The income from lands so donated was calculated in terms of money and the amount was assigned to various services to be conducted in the temples. As a result, the temple tenants knew exactly how much they had to pay in terms of an inscription served as a guide to future reference.

The Rayalaseema inscriptions give interesting references to services that were conducted in the temples for which land-grants were given. Among them mention may be made of the following: (a) for those who played Tamburine, Nadaswaram and Drums in the temples; (b) for dancing girls in the temples, (c) for continual recitation of the vedas, Puranas, Sastras in the temples; (d) for white washing and sweeping; (e) for the management of temple lands to the manager or 'Sthanika'[29]. In this way temples acquired huge landed property through donations, endowments and

28. T.I. (Knl) 448, 475 and 479 Srisailam : A (Ctr), 183 Tirupati, S.I.I. XVI - 174 Ahobilum.

29. T.I. Atp 16 Tadimarri, 50 Gorantla; I.A.P. Cdp. Mopur; S.I.I. XVI. 198 Markapur. PP 204 -5, T.I. Atp. 48 Gorantla.

mortgages. In a way they seemed to be like big land lords Temple lands were exempted from land revenue and other taxes.

MATHAPURA LAND TENURES :

Next to temple, the major Mathas or Monesteries belonging to the sects of Saivism, Vaishnavism, Srivaishnavism and Veerasaivism of South-India had own[illegible] institutions. The Vijaynagara period witnessed the spread of Vaishnavism, Saivism and Veerasaivism in South. Temples bacame centres for the spread of these sects in Rayalaseema. Many organisations sprang up and their branches spread to every nook and corner of the region. These organisations, known as Matts had their centres in Rayalaseema too. Tirupathi - Thirumala and Ahobilum became important centres of the Jiyyar Matha, Ramanujakutam of Srivaisnavism, Vysaraya Matha of Madhava sects and Hatiramji Matha were famous at Tirupati[30]. At Ahobilum Vansathakopa Jiyyar Matha acted as Managing Trustee of the temple[31] lands, and the Matha Peethadhipathi used to sell away the temple lands or exchange them for better ones. At Srisailam Nageswara Matha, Swangeswara Matha, Basava Matha and Siddabikshavritti Matha were the most prominent Saivamathas[32]. The Bikshavritti Matha managed some

30. *Epigraphy Report of T.T.D. P. 218.*

31. *S.I.I. XVI, 174 Ch. Ahobilum. 200 Ch. Ahobilam 235 P. Ahobilam.*

32. *T.I. (Knl) 474, 480 Srisailam.*

temples in Giddalur Taluk[33]. It had villages and lands. The Sringeri Matha had its branch at Pushpagiri[34].

In 1392 A.D. Harihara founded an Agrahara Hariharapura and presented it to Sringeri Matha[35]. The Vijayanagara Kings used to invite Mathapeethadhipathies to their capital or themselves visited the mathas and presented villages as gifts. A part of the income from the gifts of lands and villages were utilised in the administration of Matha and some income for performance of religious ceremonies[36]. The Veerasaiva matha also owned lands. Bhikshavritti Matha was one category of Veerasaiva Matha in Rayalaseema[37]. Santhayya of that matha came into conflict with Gani Thimmayya Nayudu who suffered defeat at his hands.

The emergence of Sringeri Matha as a landed intermediary during the Vijayanagara period is another example of how the state promoted Brahmanization process. It was Matha that belonged to the Smartha Brahmanas, established by Shankaracharya in the 8th Centrury A.D. In

33. *A.P.G. Report in Epigraphy, 1965 211, Turumilla (Devaraya's times).*

34. *The Branches of this Matha (Sringeri) were established at Pushagiri, Virupaksham and Kumbakonam' N.V.R. - A study of third dynasy of Vijayanagara. P. 324.*

35. *M.A.R. (Report) 1916 PP. 60-61.*

36. *S.I.I. XVI 86 Srisailam; I.A.P. Cdp. II. 134. Pushpagiri, A.P.G. Arch series. K.I. No. Alampur.*

37. *A.P.G. Report on Epigraphy for 1969 P. 111.*

the Pre-Vijayanagara period the gurus of Matha did not have to manage any Jagir or land endowments. Sringeri was mainly a centre of religion and philosophy. But in the first half of the 14th century it acquired Manya lands and villages from Vijayanagara rulers and their feudatories[38]. The matha exercised the temporal power within its jurisdiction. Rich lands, money, gold materials, Birudus and other trappings of monarchical - like powers converted the simple hermitage into a semi-sovereign state. Sringeri bacame a Samsthana, a Murusavirasime[39] and the pontiff became Jagdguru.

The emergence Sringeri Jagir in the area had many socio-economic implications. It intensified the Brahmanization process of the area which had begun on a small scale in the 8th centruy A.D. with the advent of Sankaracharya. Now in the 14th century as a result of providing the material basis in the form of Jagir, a large number of Brahmana settlements and temples came into existence. The Jagadguru, the Brahmanas and the Devasthanam of the Murusavirasime Samsthana became the instruments of this intensified Brahamanization movement in the area. The Jagadgurus and their Brahmana followers and dependents promoted the secular sovereignty of different political powers in the area

38. M.A.R. 1916. P. 56, 1346 A.D., Ibid PP 57, 56; E.C. VI. KP.49. 1392 A.D.; Ibid.Sg.11, 1652 A.D: M.A.R. Krishnadevaraya PP. 122,132, 1522 A.D., Copper Plates No. iv and v-Copper Plates inscriptions belonging to Sri Sankaraharya of Kamokotipeetha. ed. by Gopiatha Rao. T.A. (Madras 1916) P.P. 40-72.

39. M.A.R. 1916. P.57

and the secular sovereigns in their turn used the Matha as an expression of their overlordship through the medium of large scale donation of Manya lands. The Sringeri Jagir symbolized alliance between the Kshetra and Brahma, Dana and Dharma; temporal and spiritual powers. The Sringeri Samsthana in the sense represented orthodoxy, conservatism, hierarchy and inequality in the contemporary society though in another sense it helped to conserve the high intellectual traditions of Hinduism as interpreted by Sankaracharya. Predominantly wet cultivation in the area probably contributed much to the development of Vedic Brahamana ritual based social formations of the region[40].

An Important question is by creating Brahmana landed intermediaries through Agraharas temple and Matha grants what benefits did accrue to the Vijayanagara state. In return for the land grants, the Brahmanas were obliged to render religious services which might secure spiritual welfare of the donors or their ancestors. The secular obligations of the Brahmana landed intermediaries are rarely laid down. But it is natural to expect that the Brahmana landed intermediaries repaid more than their generous donors and patrons of Sangama, Saluva, Tuluva and Aravedu dynasties by maintaining law and order in their segments called Agraharas and impressing upon the people the sacred duty of carrying out their Varna or Jati functions and obeying the

40. E.C. VI, Sg. 5, 11, 13, 22, 26, 28, 29, 36 may be referred as examples to prove the point.

Vijayanagara Monarch, who in this period, as recorded in Amuktamalyada of Krishnadevaraya, was believd to have embodied in his person the attributes of various gods. Hence, whatever may have been the intensions of the royal donors, it would be wrong to think that the Brahmanization process served only religious purpose, certainely the Brahmana landed intermediaries prayed for the spiritual well being of the royal donors and their ancestors and never supplied any soldiers as the Bishops in England did but there was no need for military servicce if the people could be persuaded to behave themselves and to acquiesce in the existing order.

SERVICE LAND TENURES :

We have discussed so far beneficial tenure (religious). Now we shall study service tenures. Service tenure arose for different reasons in those times. These land tenures implied a custom of making gifts and paying wages for various public services by an assignment of land or land-revenue instead of paying in money as now happens for gifts. Land was commonly used for paying wages and also for services done.

Another reason for the creation of the service tenures in our period of study was the abundance of land and relative scarcity of money. In addition to this, population in those days was not very mobile, as at present because of lack of means of effective communications. Therefore payments for the various kinds of services in the form of land grants were

suitable to those times, as such lands brought a fixed income to the person who held them.

Service tenure may be divided under different headings: (a) military sevices - all land grants which were given in tenure for military services, (b) Lands granted for having rendered services in the cause of improving and extending agriculture, (c) Lands assigned to village officers, (d) Lands donated for the services of the past and other miscellaneous services. Lands assigned for these services were known by various terms, 'Umbali', 'Kodage', 'Manya', 'Inam', 'Jagir', Kittel defines 'Umbali' as rentfree grant of a plot or village. According to H.H. Wilson it means a grant to an individual for his subsistence

'Kodage' and 'Manya' are synonymous with 'Umbali' though 'Manya' often means lands granted on the condition of quit-rent. 'Jagir' is a persian word in its origin is applied to lands given by Government for personal support or for the maintenance of troops for the service of the state. The word 'Inam" ia also synonymous with 'Umbali'.

AMARANAYAKARA TENURES :

Among different kinds of service oriented land tenures that existed in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period which arose out of political economic, social and religious conditions of the time, mention may be made of the land tenure of Amaranayaka. A large number of inscriptions of Rayalaseema refer to the office of Amaranayakas. The

political necessity of protecting the empire from constant wars with the neighbouring kingdoms had compelled the Rayas of Vijayanagara to parcel out large territories to Amaranayakas who were expected to raise armies for the emperor. Amaranayakas were military officers who held lands from the king. As an agrarian institutions this land-tenure had a great influence on the political life of the ruling dynasty. At a time when money economy was not fully developed; instead of being paid in money, the Amaranayakas were granted lands and territories by the kings. Acording to H.H. Wilson 'Amara' means a command of a thousand foot[41]. It also indicates a grant of revenue to a person for his services generally military in nature[42]. Amaranayaka thus denoted an office of a military chief under Vijayanagara Kings. The evidence gathered from inscriptions substantiates this opinion.

The Nayakas were given crown lands on condition of maintaining certain number of troops. Generally, they did not have any hereditary rights. But they were nearly tenants-at-will. Often Amara villages had changed hands. The villages of Tharunapadu were grantd by Sadasiva Raya in 1543 A.D. to Nandyala Avrubalayyadeva Maharaja[43]. After 9 years the Amaram Tharunapadu was granted by the same monarch to

41. Wil son 'Glossery'. P. 21.

42. Ibid; P. 372.

43. L.R. 13. Markapur No.5.

Ramaraju Peda Tirumala[44]. After two years it was granted to Bhadraja Nagappa[45]. Often when there was change of king, the successors would dismiss or cancel the Amaram and transfer the same to some other Nayaka. Krishnadevaraya granted Avuku in Duvvurusima as Nayankara to Bukkaraja Timmaraju[46]. However, Achyutharaya dismissed him in 1533 A.D. and appointed Salakaraja Peda Tirumala in his place[47]. According to Paes, the contemporary Portuguese traveller, the king fixed a number of troops to be maintained by each Nayankara and they should be ready for duty whenever called[48] for. In Annual payment to the King was fixed and they were expected to send presents to the king on the new year's day or on King's birthday. Failure of these obligations resulted in termination[49].

Foreign travellers like Nuniz, Paes and Barbosa also refer to this tenure in their writings. Barbosa speaks of the lords who hold lands from the king[50]. Nuniz says that "All lands belong to the king and from his hand the captains hold them"[51]. He refers to the two hundred such captains who

44. Ibid; No. 7

45. Ibid; No 8.

46. L.R. 18. P. 59.

47. Ibid P. 61.

48. F.E. Paes P. 269.

49. Ibid. Nuniz P. 370

50. Barbosa I.P. 200.

51. Sewell 'A Forgotten Empire'. P. 360

hold the revenues of the territories over which they were lords. He mentions, among them the captains of Bankpur, Kalalc, Mangalore and Budihal in Karnataka and Penukonda, Gooty, Siddautam, Gandikota and other places in Rayalaseema.

"The King has no controller of Revenues nor other officers of his house, but only the captains of his kingdom of whom I will mention some and the revenues they held and of what territory they are lords"[52].

The list of important Nayakas, of Rayalaseema, their income from the territories held as Amaranayakas and their contribution to the King as given by Nuniz is noted below[53].

Name of the Nayaka	Annual income	Military Contribution to the King	Annual Contribution to the King
1. Saluvanayaque	1,10,00,000 Gold pagodas	3,000 foot 3,000 Horses 30 Elephants.	1/3
2. Ajapariya Timmappa Hudogery	8,00,000	25,000 foot 1,500 Horses 40 Elephants.	300000
3. Adapayaque Gotte.	3,00,000	8,000 foot 800 Horses, 30 Elephants.	150000

52. *Ibid : P. 365.*

53. *Ibid PP. 365, 369*

"In this way the Kingdom of Bisnaga is devided between more than two thousand captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have so the King settles for them the forces that they are conpelled to keeping and how much revenue they have to pay him everymonth during the first nine days of the month of September. He never gives any receipts to them. Only if they do not pay they are well punished and are ruined and their property taken away"[54].

According to Paes[55] "should any one ask what revenues that king possesses, and what his treasure is that enables him to pay so many troops, since he has so many and such great lords in his kingdom. Who, the greater part of them have themselves revenues, I answer thus : these captains whom he has over these troops of his are nobles of his Kingdom; there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a millioan and a millilan and a half of paradaos, others a hundred thousand paradaos, other two hundred or five hundred thousand paradaos and as each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot horses and elephants. These troops are always ready for duty, whenever they may have to go; and in this way he has this million of fighting men always ready. Each of these captains, labours to turn out the best troops,

54. Ibid P. 370.

55. Ibid. PP. 269-70

he can get because he pays them their salaries. Besides, maintaining these troops, each captain has to make his annual payments to the king and the king has his own salaried troops to whom he gives pay".

Captains and lords having large territories and great rvenues; whenever a son happens to have born to this King, or a daughter, all the nobles of the Kngdom offer thin great presents of money and jewels of price, and so they do to him every year on the day of his birth". They gave their quota of revenue to the King in the month of October or on the New Year's Day.

Paes says further that "these captains whom he (the King) has over these troops are the nobles of the Kingdom, they are the lords and they hold the cities, towns and villages of the Kingdom"[56].

Regarding the obligations of Amaranayakas, the foreign travellers throw some light. Maintenance of troops was very important obligation of Amaranayakas. Such Amaranayaka had to maintain foot-soldriers, horses and elephants[57]. Besides maintaining a military, they had to make annual payments druring the first nine days in September and they had to attend the Kings Court at the Capital[58].

56. Ibid. P. 269.

57. F.E. Paes, P. 269.

58. F.E. Nuniz, P. 370.

According to Paes they also supplied food articles like rice, wheat and meat etc., to the King's palace daily[59]. Paes says that the King collected approximately a million and five hundred paradaos (Pagodas) from Amaranayakas the during NewYear's day [60]. There are numerous inscriptions which record the grant of lands, villages to Brahmanas and temples by Nayakas for prosperity and long life to the ruling monarch. They also often remitted taxes to the temples under their juridiction for the same purpose[61]. There is also an instance on record where an Amaranayaka set up a stone figure of Krishnadevaraya, in a certain temple as a mark of respect and loyalty to the King[62].

These Amaranayakas were loyal tenants-at-will. Even while granting lands to temples, Brahmanas and for creating Agraharas or remitting taxes in villeges under their jurisdiction, they had to obtain the permission of the ruling sovereign[63]. Such a ruler when he came to throne had to recognise the authority of Amranayakas. This land tenure was tenants-at-will and not hereditary can be proved by the fact that the same 'Sima' or division was held by different Amaranakayas in defferent periods. For example Gutti-sima

59. Ibid. : Nuniz P. 352.

60. Ibid : Paes P. 270.

61. S.I.I. XVI, No. 87, Ibid No. 165 and 184 : Ibid No. 86 etc.,

62. Ibid. No. 87.

63. Ibid: No. 122 A.D. 1540

was held by Saluva Govindayya as 'Nayankara' during the reign of king Krishnadevaraya in 1517; whereas the same sima was held by one Ramarajayyadeva in 1602 during the reign of Venkatapati Raya[64]. There are other examples to prove this. Even during the reign of a single ruler the territory of an Amaranayaka often changed hands. Thus Rayadurga - Sima was held by Ramaraju and later Krishnayyaraju who were not related to each other it makes clear from the genealogy of these Amararanakas given in the two inscriptions of the reign of Sadasivaraya[65]. Since they were tenants-at - will they could at any time be deprived of their holdings and the same might be transferred to the treasury[66].

There were different grades of Amaranayakas. They derived their power from their armies and resources of amaram. Some of them had the titles of Mahamandaleswara, Dalavayi and Maharaja[67]. Even within the administartive unit of a 'Sima', there were several subordinate - Amaranayakas who were under the control of superior Amaranayaka. Thus two inscriptions from the reign of Krishnadevaraya record that one Yaramanayudu held Gandikota Sima as Amaranayankara and with in this sima there were two other

64. S.I.I. XVI No. 61 and 308.

65. Ibid. : XVI No. 211 and 218.

66. F.E. Nuniz : 355 'The book of Barbosa'. Vol I.P. 209.

67. S.I.I. XVI No. 130, 252 and 219.

areas known as 'chernuru' and 'potladurti' which were held as Amaras by another Nayaka by name Peddasinganayaka[68]. Amaram lands were often conferred on the relatives of the high officials of the Kingdom. Thus Krishnadevaraya's Chief Minister Saluva Thimmaya's nephew by name Gopayya held Konadavidu-Sima as Nayankara[69].

Amaranayakas were a source of political power which they gained from their extensive land-holdings. Only a strong monarch at the centre could control them. During the reign of a weak ruler these Nayakas appeared to have changed their loyalty and supported the strong man. For instance Tuluva Narasa Nayaka revolted against Immadi Narasimha of Saluva dynasty who was a weak ruler. Hence Amaranayakas appeared to have showed allegiance to Narasanayaka. Thus an inscription belonging to the reign of Immadi Narasimha records that one Thimmanayaka is said to have obtained Muktinadu as Nayankara from Narasanayaka. This shows that in order to fortify his authority Amaranayaka tenures were conferred on his favourites by Narasanayaka[70].

On the basis of the availabe inscriptions in Telugu and Kannda, it may be concluded that during the time of

68. Ib.d : XVI No. 68, and 77 : E.C. V. Hn 13; E.C. III. Sr. 12; E.C. XII TP. 129.

69. Ibid : XVI No. 72, A.D. 1512.

70. Ibid. : XVI No. 39 : A.D. 1498.

Krishnadevaraya and Sadasivaraya; the Amaram land tenures were created more in number than during the reign of any other sovereigns of the kingdom. This was due to the fact that these rulers had to face continuous wars and concquests and hence needed increased armed forces which could be raised only by creating more amaram Land tenures.

The incessant wars and creation of more Amarams weakend the power and authority of the king over Amaranayakas. Any attempt on the part of the king to interfere in the landed properties of the nayaks met with strong opposition. Thus the empire which was built upon a strong religious base become conglomaration of semi-independent principalities[71]. Such were the Nayakas of Chitradurga, Yelahanka, Ikkeri, Sivasamudra, Tanjore and Madurai etc.,

The Amaranayakara system can be compared to feudalism but there were sharp differences like hereditary succession. They held their position at the will of the emperor, yet they were source of political power. Under a weak ruler they changed their loyalties. At the time of Immadi Narasimha they showed their allegience to Narasa Nayaka who usurped all power. The process of giving landsto the tenants is the same in both the cases of feudal lords of Europe and Amaranayakas of Vijayanagara Kingdom. After the battle of Rakasi-Tangadi the tenures of Amaranayakas were chaged

71. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History : Vol. I. P. 299

to hereditary holdings.

The Amranayakara tenure can also be compared with Munasubdar system of Mughal period. But the difference is that there is systematic gradation and administration in Mughal Empire, there were often transfers and promotions in Munasubdar system. But it was not like that in Amaranayaka system of Vijayanagara Empire.

There were non-military tenures in land in Rayalaseema. They were known by names like 'Umbali', Kodage or Manya[72]. Persons who performed services like playing of Musical Instruments or Mangalavadyams and Archakas or priests belonging to religious institutions also received lands for their services[73]. Lands were also given to the founders of new villages or to the persons who improved or extended agriculture[74]. The village servants also held lands. The village servants were known as 'Ayagars'. They were twelve in number including the artisans like Handloom weavers, Kammaras, Agasalas, Barbers, Kumbaras, whose services were essential to the village community[75]. The Ayagars were also attached to the crown villages or

72. M.M. Mnt. 240-14, Dornipadu P 148.

73. I.A.P. (Cdp) 92, Pandillapalli; Ibid; 244 Golluppalapadu; T.I. (Atp) 16.; Ibid (Ctr) 179 Kurmayi.

74. T.I. (Ctr) Arungalan; T.I. (Atp) 51.

75. I.A.P. (Cdp) 303, Eguvapalli; Ibid 224 Nuduzuvvi.

Bandaravada gramas. Reddy or Gowda was the head of the village. The accountant was known as Karanam or Senaboga and he kept the land revenue accounts of the village. Talari or the watchman, the Purohit or priest, carpenter, Blacksmith, goldsmith, Potter, Washerman, Barber, chekari or Shoe Maker were other hereditary village servants[76]. They held lands in the village under Mirasi or service Inams[77]. An inscription dated 1347, gives us an idea of the distribution of lands for the servants of the village[78]. In service tenures there were hereditary rights for the enjoyment of Inams. But the inamdar had to pay quit rents which were called "Jodi". In addition to them they were given a particular quantity of grain as 'Mera' at the time of harvest.[79].

Dasavanda tenures also come under service tenures. It was customary for the ruler or his representative to order the local chief or leader to take up the construction work of tank or a temple or a public building or excavate a canal by meeting the entire cost of construciton himself on the condition that he would be given some lands towards the cost of the public works. It was thought to be a holy deed to construct a temple or a tank or to dig a well or a channel. The land received as gift or inam may not be sufficient to

76. A.S.C. cp. Quoted in P.P. 298-300.

77. Attavana Vyavahara Tantram (Tel): MPR Edition : PP. 5-6.

78. CP. dt. 1347 A.D. of Korrakodu (Atp) - Bharati.

79. Attavana Vyavahara Tantram (MPR Edn PP. 5-6.

meet the cost of construction. The Peda Jutur inscription dated 1451 A.D. (S'1373) contains a gift deed of Edumu lands for the construction of Sikhara of Naganathadeva[80]. For maitaining water sheds or feeding houses some lands were given as gifts[81]. For Puranapathana a half gocharma land and a maruth of wet land were given as gifts as stated in the inscription dated 1567 A.D. of Markapur[82]. At Gundala, in Kurnool district, the donor gave lands to the contractor for the construction of Prakara, a tank and laying out a garden[83]. The inscription dated 1569 A.D. of Kodumuru contained an endowment of land for gruel distribution of the village[84]. There were also Dasavanda grants of lands to the chiefs, who under took major works like construction of tank etc,. For example, the Ahobilum grant dated 1565 A.D.[85] and many inscriptions relating to the irrigation works speak about Dasavanda gifts of lands to the contractors[86].

The term Hore Gramas refers to the service Inams.

80. I.A.P. (Cdp) 104. Pedajutur.

81. T.I. (Atp) 36, Petacheruvu; I.A.P. Cdp 221, Devunicuddappah.

82. S.I.I. XVI - 266 Markapuram.

83. Ibid 268 Gundala.

84. Indian Archeology, (A review) PP 62-63. Kodumuru, P. 45.

85. S.I.I. SVI Ch. Ahobilum.

86. T.I. (bel) 143; Ibid Cdp 132, 156, 158, 524, 854 & 860 Vol II T.I. (Knl) 579 & 618 (Atp); S.I.I. XV-Atp 14; Cdp 55, 64 & 270; I.A. 155, 156.

It was given to the persons who rendered service to the state. Umbaligramas also come under this category.

Lands or villages granted to the individuals for their service already rendered to the state or on condition of performing service to the state. The gifts were for the subsistance or for maintenance.

1. Those that received Umbali grants for their services in the past required to do no more service. An inscription of Kokattam dated 1518 A.D. registered the grant of the village to the poet, Allasani Peddana[87]. The Rayas honoured Brahmanas and others by conferring upon them, the privilages of riding in Palaquins or on horses and elephants. In addition to these they were granted lands and villages.

2. Some nayakas received Umbalige on condition of performing public service i.e., the rent free grant of lands on condition of performimg the military service. In local Records of Koduru an epigraph of Pedamudiyam dated 1554 A.D. there is a mention of Amaraumbalige[88].

TYPES OF CULTIVATION :

As far as the relation ship between the land owning

87. M.M. Mnt. 147-2 Kokatam P. 263.

88. L.R. I. PP 11, 13 & 15 P. 130.

and not the owenership. Besides Kings also possessed crown-lands which they could alienate on full-ownership basis to the donees. The peasant proprietorship was also recognised because of the factors like, scarcity of peasants, and abudance of lands.

From the above discussion we can come to certain conclusions : First the feudalization and feudal exploitation of land had contributed to the rise of various kinds of tenures like beneficial, service and contractual tenures. The beneficial, tenures - Brahmadaya, Devadaya and Mathapura were the products of religious belief or Hindu Dharma that by donating lands to the brahmanas, the temples and mathas would bring them religious merit.

Secondly the administrative necessities and also the military requirements necessiated the creation of Amaranayankara system since the Vijayanagara Empire was in constant wars with the neighbouring Muslim states, the Bahmani Kingdoms. The Amara Nayakas were in turn maintained huge armies out of the land revenue collected from the territories assigned to them.

Thirdly the non agricultural classes like Brahmanas and other rich individuals and institutions like temples and mathas used to lease their lands to the tenant farmers on the basis of Gutta, Geni, Gadi, Vara and Sidhaya which may be grouped under contract, sharing and farming. In addition to the tenant farmers there were hired labourers and poleyas or

agrestic serfs constituted the bulk of primary in Agrarian system of producers in the Agrarian system of Rayalaseema supporting the land owning non-agricultural classes and institutions mentioned above by providing to them a share in the crops raised by their sweat. In addition to these the state which was a symbol of economic stability and public welfare had also claimed a share from the primary producers to which we can turn our attention.

CHAPTER IV

LAND REVENUE AND OTHER TAXES

The soverign, the army and the primary producers or the peasants were three significant elements in the political structure of medieval period. The sovereign ruled the kingdom. The army supported him. The army and the sovereign depended finally on peasants, merchants, artisans and workers who paid taxes to the state. Land revenue was a very important source of income.

The Vijayanagara empire was founded on the historical necessity of defending the ancient tradition and Hindu religion. Rayalaseema formed as unfailing support for the foundation of Vijayanagara empire since the forts of Gooty, Penukonda and Adoni played a major role in the expansion of the empire, so also the people who, readily contributed their might in the shape of taxes for the defence of their Kingdom, Vijayanagara.

Like any organized system of taxation, the land revenue administration, in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period consisted of two stages : first the

assessment and second, the actual collection. The first principle of any organized system of land-revenue assessment demands that the sum payable by the cultivator should be determined mainly by the class of soil and condition of cultivation. This principle was followed during the Vijayanagara period.

For the purpose of assessment three modes of cultivations were taken into account. The inscriptions of the period very often mention these three modes of cultivation. They were Kadaramba (dry cultivation), Niraramba (wet cultivation) and Thotaramba (garden cultivation). As they are separately mentioned in the inscriptions of the period, we may conclude that they were assessed with different rates.

Assessment varied according to the class of land which it belonged to. The wet lands were divided into Uttama (best), Madhyama (Middling) and Kanista (inferior). As far as the garden lands were concerned, the kinds of produce were probably taken into account, before they were assessed. Thus garden products like arecanut, coconut, jack-fruit, mango trees, plantain trees and betel creepers were separately mentioned. As far as wet lands were concerned, sugarcane and grains were separately taxed. Thus what emerges from our study is that the Vijayanagara rulers adopted the principle of differential taxation with regard to land, i.e. they levied land tax according to the relative productivity of the arable lands.[1]

1. Appadorai's 'Economic Conditions in South-India' 'P. 125: S.I.I. XVI 266, Markapuram, I.A.P. Cdp. II 55 Rameswaram; Ibid 97 Pandillapalli; S.I.I. XVI 263 Ch. Ahobilam;

The second principle of an organized system of assessment involves the process of survey and measurement of land before the settlement was made with the peasants. Measuring of lands for the purpose of fixing land-revenue appears to have been existed in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period. We come across various terms used in connection with land measurements in the epigraphs of Rayalaseema.

SURVEY AND MEASUREMENTS OF LAND :

For surveying, ropes and rods or dandas or gadas of bamboo were used. The standard measurement differed from area to area. Kesaripati gada[2], Kalahastipati gada,[3] Kola gada[4], Dommara gada[5], Dora gada[6], Ibara[7], Rekhadanda,[8] Ropes of 18 cubit[9] were some of them. A line of standard mura or cubit was marked on a stone and set up in a conspicuous place with a description of the measurement inscribed below the line. Such types of stone inscriptions

2. *M.E.R. 659/1920.*

3. *I.A.P. Cdp. P. II 57, Bommavaram.*

4. *Cdp. Ins P. 389.*

5. *I.A.P. Cdp. P. II 55 Rameswaram PP. 64-5.*

6. *Cdp. Ins. P. 342.*

7. *Cdp. Ins. P. 342.*

8. *I.A.P. Cdp. II - 11 Porumamilla.*

9. *M.MSS. Mnt. 114-3. P. 94 Land Measurements of Kurnool District.*

have been discovered in Rayalaseema region.[10] The revenue records called Gudikattu Kavile - contained the details of the specific units of length and surface measures.[11] "Kesaripatigada" was 42 feet 8 inches in length.[12] "Kolagada"of Cuddapah district measured 22 muras.[13] The "Rekhadanda" was about 3 11/14' in length.[14] The Ibara was more than four muras.[15] The following surface measurements were invogue during the medieval times.

12 Angulas - 1 Jana.
32 Janas - 1 Gada. (a standard pole)[16]

Nivartana or Maruths were the standard units.[17] They were the usual terms denote the extent of fields.

120 Nivartanas were equivalent to 15 acres of land.[18]

10 Nivartanas were equivalent to a Gocharma.[19]

10. I.A.P. Cdp. II 57 Bommavaram P.66.

11. M. Mss. Mnt. 105 Guddikattu Kavile, P. 57.

12. M.E.R. 659/1920 Kesaripati gada 14th Century.

13. Cdp. Ins. PP. 389, Land measurements Kolagada.

14. I.A.P. Cdp. II - 11 Porumamilla.

15. Cdp. Ins. PP. 972-3 Ibara.

16. A.S.C. P. 97.

17. S.I.I. XVI 266 Markapur.

18. T.I. Knl. 4 Cp 98 of Sewell's list.

19. Mallana's Sara Sangrahaganitham P. 7, P. 2-3, S.I.I. X, 573. 149 AD

Kunta was another unit of surface measurements,[20] even today it is used in some of the villages of Rayalaseema. Kunta is about 6 1/4 of cents or 1/16 acre.[21]

In Western parts of Kurnool district the canerese units of Kolage and Salage were in use.[22] Kolage was equivalent to 8 seers[23]. In many parts of Rayalaseema the volumetric measurements were used to denote the extent of land. The following is a table of volumetric measurement.

4 Giddas or 2 Seers	-	1 Sola.
4 Solas	-	1 Manika equivalent to 8 seers
4 Manikas	-	1 Kuncha.
4 Kunchas	-	1 Irasa.
2 Irasas	-	1 Tumu denoted by 'na'.
20 Tumus.	-	1 Putti denoted by the letter 'Kha' the shortened form of Sanskrit word Kanduka.[24]

The sowing capacity of land was taken into account to denote the extent of land but the sowing capacity differed from one type of soil to another. The Mackenzie manuscript No. Mnt. 114-3 gives the following standards of sowing

20. I.A.P Cdp. II 61 Lebaka PP. 69-70.

21. Ibid.

22. T.I. Bel 27 Chinna Hottur, Alur Tq.

23. E.C. XI 51.

24. M.MSS. Mnt. 114-3 P. 94 Land Measurements is Kurnool District.

capacity of different soils.[25] On black soil 1 Tumu of land can be sown with 1 sola of millet. On Yerramorasu 1 tumu of land can be sown with 11/2 solas of millet. On Tuvvanela (Sandy soil) 1 tumu of land can be sown with 2 solas. On Morasu soil one tumu of land can be sown with 2 1/2 solas of millet. For gardens there were different measurements in force. During this period 1 madi = 9 cubits by 4 cubits (9x4).[26]

ASSESSMENT :

There were two types of assessment of lands known as 'Rayarekha'[27] and Bijavari.[28] In the neighbouring districts of Karnataka, we come across reference to the Rayarekha system of assessment in the epigraphs. Hence this system appears to have been common both to Rayalaseema and Karnataka. The notion that Rayarekha system was originated during the time of Krishnadevaraya is not correct.[29] We have got an evidence to show that even before Krishnadevaraya, this unit of assessment was in vogue. An inscription from Pavagada reveals clearly that Mallikarjuna who lived before Krishnadevaraya granted a village by name Nallangi whose rekhe assessment was 200

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. E.C. VII Sh. 84 Rayarekha.

28. M.Mss.Mnt. 105 Gidukattu-Kavali P. 57.

29. Bom. Gaz.. Vol. XXII.P. 439.

Varahas.[30] An inscription of the time of Devaraya also leads to the same conclusion.[31] This unit of assessment was originated during the Vijayanagara period as we do not find a reference to the same in any of the inscriptions before 1336 A.D. However, it was not originated during the time of Sri Krishnadevaraya.

The term Rayarekha was not the ordinance issued by the emperor, but rather, it was an unit of assessment 'Raya' was the title of Vijayanagara Kings and Rekha means the line which indicated assessment of land in question. This was the fixed standard determined without additions. Rayarekha assessment was determined after the survey measurement and classification of soil. Then the assessment was estimated by the area to which the moneypayment of certain sum was attached. The cash statement was stated either in 'Hons' or Gadyanas.[32] The Rayarekha assessment was noted against the name of the village. Thus 'Gramada rekha'ga 20'.[33]

In Rayalaseema, it is interesting to note that the Rayarekha assessment was based on the extent of land denoted in 'Maruths' or 'Nivartanas'. One Nivartana of land

30. E.C. XII. Pg. 60 A.D.1431; Aq. SY. Kar. P. 65.

31. E.C. IXBn. 127. A.D. 1431; K.S.S. Ibid.

32. M.A.R., 1933, P. 200 Kd; E.C. XIV. Gd. 103; S.I.I. IX Part II. No. 653 (A.R. No. 13 of 1904) etc., K.S.S. Aq. Sy. Kar. P. 65.

33. E. C.IX Bn. 127, Text P. 47; EC. IX MK. 31 text P. 258 etc..; K.S.S. Ag. Sy. Kar. P. 65.

was equivalent to 1/6 acre.[34] The Bijavari assessment was based on the produce of the lands denoted by 'tums' and 'puttis'. It was less expensive and the risk was shared equally between the Government and cultivators. The classification of lands, the method of cultivation and types of soil were taken into consideration at the time of assessment.[35]

The land belonging to every village was devided into two main classes - Niraramba, Kadaramba, Niraramba fields were the wet lands irrigated by tank or channel water. They included rice fields, gardens and sugarcane. In the Rayarekha of Veeranarasimha's times sugarcane, betel leaf and kitchen vegetables were included in Niraramba.[36] In Kaifiyet of Siruvella fruitbearing trees and plantains were included in Niraramba.[37] Garden lands were subdivided into sugarcane, betel, vegetable and plantain gardens. Kadaramba lands were the dry lands which depended upon rain. Ragi, Javeri and pulses were grown in these lands.[38] The classifications were made for the purpose of taxation. The lands were further classified into Uttama, Madhyama,

34. T.I. Kn. 4 C.P. 98 of Swell's list.

35. Ibid.

36. L.R. 6 P. 324.

37. L.R. 6 PP 338-45 Kaifiyet of Sirivolla.

38. S.I.I. XVI. Ahobilam (Ch).

Kanista.[39] As far as the gardens were concerned the kinds of produce were taken into account in assessment.

As to the magnitude of land revenue demand claimed by the Vijayanagar Empire there were extreme views. The immemorial theory that 1/6 of the produce should be taken by the king from the peasants is repeated by many Telugu and Kannada works like Channabasavapurana[40], Rajavali kathe[41] and Amuktamalyada. But these Kannada and Telugu literary works deal more with the theoretical side of taxation than with the practical side of it. As to the theory we have also the time honoured direction of Manu that the king was entitled to a share of the gross produce of the lands, a share which was usually fixed at sixth, but which might on occasions rise up to a fourth or fall to a twelth.[42] Madhavacharya, Minister of Bukka I in his parasara - Madhaviyam gives the following advise which is illustrative of Vijayanagar period. "As the florist in the garden plucks blossoms successively, put forth and does not eradicate the flowering shrub, so should be the king, drawing revenue from his subjects takes the sixth part of the actual produce; but the maker of the charcoal extirpating the trees burns the

39. A.S.I.R. 1914-15 (P.1) P. 3.

40. K.S.S.; Aqr. Sy. Kar. P. 66; Channabasavapurana by Birupakshapandita (16th Century) P. 82, Stanza No. 10

41. Ibid; Rajavalikathe Devachandra (Manuscript) P. 6

42. Manu Dharmasastra (text) Ch. VII 130-131.

whole plant, let not the king so treat his subjects.[43] "The Vijayanagara rulers or even their successors did not follow this rule because the conditions like continuous wars maintenance of huge army, their wants and luxuries demanded huge expenses. The portuguese traveller Nuniz writes "all land belongs to the king, and from his hand captains hold it. They make it over to husbandmen who pay nine-tenths of the produce to their lords, who in turn pay one-half to the king".[44] According to Hayavadana Rao the assessment during the Vijayanagar period was 50%.[45] It was impossible for a great empire like Vijayanagara to maintain its pomp and glory which has been graphically described by the contemporary foreign travellers like Razzaq, Conti, Paes, and Barbosa with such a small share as traditional 1/6. The fact to be noticed in this connection is that land for cultivation was available in plenty. Hence, the state's main aim was to see that peasants cultivated all (or that which were easily accessible) the available lands. Various inscriptions prove how the state encouraged reclamation of fallow lands by showing concessions in the form of gradual scale of assessment.[46] This policy not only helped the peasants, but also the state when such was the situation, the empire could not thrive on a policy of

43. Ibid; Parasara-Madhava I. P. 403.

44. F.E. Nuniz, P. 360

45. K.S.S. Aqr. Syt. Kar. P. 67; Indian Antiquary Vol. XL. PP 271-272

46. Ibid; E.C. IX. Ht. 50; Mar 1923, Mb. P. 62; A.R.E. 1913 No. 56; 36 Akkapalli P. 163; A.S.C. PP 296-360.

continuous extortion. The mobility of peasants was another factor which was operating in those times, but which is totally absent today. Migration in search of better conditions was a powerful instrument in their hands against oppression. This condition arose as a result of plentiful supply of arable land. Many inscriptions[47] of the time prove this. Thus an inscription belonging to Vijayanagar times found, in the Hanuman temple in the village, of Kautalam in Kurnool district throws an interesting side-light. It says that the ryots emigrated in a body across the Tungabhadra on account of the exactions made from them by the king. Then the king promised that if they would return and again cultivate their land they would be protected from further mal-treatment.[48] Moreover the concept of demand for land has a great thing to say. Many inscriptions of the period point out to the fact that land used for agricultural purposes had a great demand. Reclamations, sale and mortgage deeds,[49] as recorded in inscriptions prove that land in those days commanded a value. The assessment on the land was moderate. People were generally happy and prosperous.

The Attavana Vyavahara Tantra reveals the existence of the following rates as state demands.[50]

47. Ibid; MAR. 1906-07, para 55; ASI 1907-08 P.247 footnote 1; Mar 1918 para 69, No.103 of 1918.

48. Ibid; SII, IX, part ii, No.554 (A.R.No.492 of 1915) Adoni taluk, A.D. 1533 (Achutaraya).

49. Ibid; E.C. IV, Sg.25; Ibid VIII, Tl. 2; etc. K.S.S. Ag. Syt. Kar P.68.

50. M. MSS. Mnt. Local Tracts Mnt. 160-10 Attavana Vyavahara Tantra.

'Sangoru': The produce should be shared equally between the ryot and the state.

'Mangoru': Means that one-third of the produce should be given to the state and two-thirds left to the cultivator.

But Rayas showed lenience towards the ryots at the time of assessment of revenue on newly reclaimed lands and on lands of the newly constructed villages.[51] The payment of revenue was settled and the Rayarekhas which were records, were transmitted to the headman of the town. The extent of arable lands - private lands, Devadaya, Brahmadaya, Matapura and Inam lands were noted in detail in palm-leaf registers called Gudikattu Kaviles.[52] Gudi means ayacut - boundaries of the village and the details of the crops grown and revenue tax assessed and collected were all noted in it. The boundaries of each palle (Halli) or village were fixed, and marks and stones inscribed with writing or symbols were errected on each boundary. The boundaries of the village were jealously guarded by villagers against the encroachments of the neighbouring villages. Often there were disputes which were settled by arbitration. The people would select a person on whose honesty and knowledge they had great confidence. An auspicious day would be fixed for treading. The boundary treader would be rewarded by

51. LR. 36. Talamanchi Pattanam P. 26.

52. M. MSS. Mnt. 105 Gudikattu Kavile.

an inam. On the corners of the boundary lines stones with inscriptions or with figures of Vamana, or sankha or chakra engraved would be pitched up.[53]

LAND REVENUE AND OTHER TAXES :

The settlement of land revenue was always done during the month of September (Asviyaja) i.e., during the Dasara Celebrations. If the amount due was not paid as settled, the governors were punished and their property confiscated.[54]

The land revenue was collected both in kind and coin. The payment in coin was known as Suvarnadaya.[55] The taxes on certain kinds of niraramba fields - especially on the gardens was collected in cash only. Because of the perishable nature of the produce like vegetables, fruits, sugarcane etc., the payment in kind was known as 'Kalupallu' or Dhanyadaya and Davasa.[56] Dhanya denotes varieties of grains such as Wheat, Cholam and pulses. Davasa means oil seeds pepper etc. But the peasants were permitted to pay the tax either in cash or in produce[57]. Often the payment in cash involved loss to the cultivator because

53. LR. 36. Cinna Komerla P. 25.

54. F.A. Nuniz P. 370.

55. L.R. 6. P. 324. the Rayarekha of the times of Viranarasimha.

56. H.H. Wilson Glossary P. 136.

57. L.R. 15-24 P. 124, 13 P. 288, 18. PP. 407 - 9.

of his disadvantageous position. Revenue officials followed the lower price line at the time of valuation of the produce. The taxes paid by rural folk may be divided in 10 classes.

1) Agriculture, (2) Pasture and Forest, (3) Industrial, (4) Commercial, (5) Military, (6) Professional, (7) Social and Communal, (8) Property, (9) Religious, (10) Manygrama Sunkas.

1. Agriculture Taxes : In addition to Kadaramba and Niraramba land revenues people had to pay the Aya dues which were collected in kind or grain on thrashing floor by the hereditary village servants like the Gouda, the Shanubhoga, the Talari etc.

The following were rates of assessment according to an inscription dated 1429-30 A.D.[58] Approximately, a little less or more, the same rates might have been in force during that period in Rayalaseema.

Class of land	Assessment in padddy on Che vele including araneparu lakkai etc.	Other taxes, such as Kanikkai samma dam, pattanavatta Kanikule etc., In each veli.
1	2	3
1. Paddy fields.	50 Kalangupaddy & 1/4 pannam.	20 Panam.

58. *MER 1915, Para 44, Parantakanadu - OP cit - Sex Centinary PP. 164-5.*

2. Uncultivated water land (just brought under cultivation).	40 Kalangupaddy &1/4 pannam.	18 Panam.
3. Forest Reclaimed.	20 Kalangupaddy &1/4 Pannam.	2 Panam.
4. Kadaippu lands and lands irrigated by boiling water.	20 Kalangupaddy &1/4 Pannam.	1 Panam.
5. Plantain and Sugarcane Gardens in waste lands	-	60 panam Including Arasciperu.
6. Plantain and Sugarcane gardens in padugaithu enbankments.	-	50 Panam.
7. Marshes producing red lotus.	-	40 panam.
8. Lands producing Turmeric, Ginger, Onions, Garlics etc.	-	25 Panam.
9. Lands producing bruyals valudilai.	-	30 Panam.
10. Lands producing nelluperutti, caster seeds, varaguparutti, mustered Bengalgram and Kasudai (Casthanus)	-	20 Panam
11. Lands producing grams, green pulse, Taniparutti, Taniamanakka, Tenai Taruvarayu, Semai, etc.	-	3/4 Panam.

1	2	3
12. Lands oproducing sesame (Taxed for II Crop).	-	3/4 Panam.
13. Lands yeilding vedi Koledu	-	200 Panam.
14. Lands yielding olimudu kolundu (taxed for I Crop)	-	100 Panam.
(C) DRY LANDS.		
1. Every five areccapalm yielding about 1500 nuts per tree.	-	1 panam; Including aramperu.
2. Every coconut-palm yielding not less than 40 fruit tender trees which have not borne fruit, barren trees in the back yards of houses are exempted.	-	Lost.
4 every Jack tree yeilding not less than 20 fruits per tree.		

N.B.: The surrounding (i.e.,other) trees are not taxed.

2. Pasture and Forest Tax:

1) Puliari or Grazing tax: The pastoral communities Kuruba and Gollas etc., had to pay pullari for grazing their sheep in forests.[59]

2) Adatere or Goat Tax: It was another tax collected for

59. *IAP. Cdp. II 137 Chidipirala PP 170-71.*

grazing the goats in the forests.[60]

3) Kattu Pasalu: It was collected from the Cowherds for grazing their cattle on pastures.[61]

4). Kondagutta: Generally the hill tribes, Chenchus, boyas etc., had to pay Sunkam for cutting the woods and for hunting in the forests.[62]

3. Industrial Tax: The Kula Siddhayalu levied on different castes for their Kula Vritties.

1. Maggaru was a tax imposed on weavers as weaving was a wide spread industry in Rayalaseema. It was generally 1/2 gatti varaha per loom.[63] For the development of this industry some concession or remission was also extended to the master weavers who had many looms.[64]
2. Kumbara Tarege : The potters had to pay this tax[65]
3. Ganegare : Oil crushing community or Gandla Balaja had to pay this sunkam.[66]
4. Upparitarege o r Uppinapale : It was levied on Uppari community for manufacturing salt.[67]

60. R.C. IV, GN 2. 73.

61. IAP Cdp. II, 108 Madduru PP. 136-37.

62. Attavana Vyavahara Tantra M.P.R. Edn. P. 13.

63. IAP Cdp. II. 137 Chidipirala, 170-71.

64 LR. 6 Annual Income Alvakondashalalu.

65. M. MSS. 15-6-8.

66. IAP Cdp. II 137 Chidipirala PP. 170-171. Cdp, Ins Gandikota Kaifiyat P. 62.

67. Ibid. : Ibid.

5. Kabbina or Alaya Sunka : This sunkam was collected from Jaggery makers in the villages.[68]
6. Ediga or Edula Sunkam : The palm tapers had to pay this sunkam for their Kulavritti.[69]
7. Medarikam : It was collected from Medari community who prepared articles with bamboo.[70] Most probably they were getting on well with their Vritti. Hence, this levy might have been collected.
8. Peddakolimi : Iron Industry was flourishing industry undertaking large scale production. The word Peddakolumulu denotes big furnaces.[71]
9. Pinjanigaru : It was imposed upon the carders or combers of cotton. The community engaged lin this industry was Dudekula, a Sudra caste.[72]

4. Commercial Tax : Under the Vijayanagara Rayas trade and commerce was in flourishing condition. The following commercial taxes were in vogue in Rayalaseema.

1. Mulavisa[73] : As the word denotes the one eighth of the capital, most probaly one eighth of the investment on business might have been collected from business

68. WC XI, DG 106, (iii) IML 95.

69. IAP. Cdp. II. 137. Chidipirala PP. 170-71, 187 Potladurti P. 229.

70. T.T.D. III, EC (iii) i. Mi. 95.

71. M. MSS. Mnt. 160-10 Attavana Vyavahara Tantram P. 328.

72. LR 3, Chidipirala P. 426.

73. M. MSS. Mnt. 135-3 PP 194-6 Sri Sailamahatyam of Sri[illegible].

people. There was no evidence forth coming to this effect but it might have been collected in the markets as small duty.

2. Sunkas or Customs duties: Duties known as perjunka or Herjunka were collected on the whole sale of articles in bulk. A small duty 'Kirukula' was collected on retail articles.[74]
3. Sthaladayam or Sunkas : The sunka collected on small commodities that are imported from abroad to any given place is known as Sthaladayam. There were different rates for different articles. The sunkas collected at Bukkapatnam is given below[75] :

No.	Articles.	Unit taxes.	Tax.
1.	pepper.	per perika.	Ruka 2.
2.	Jaggery.	per Perika.	Ruka 2.
3.	Anumulu	Per Perika.	Ruka 2.
4.	Cholam.	perPerika.	Ruka 1.
5.	Arecanuts.	Per Perika.	Ruka 2.
6.	Kayalu.	Per Perika.	Ruka 2.
7.	Silks.	Per Bale.	Ruka 1/4.
8.	Vegetables.	Per Basket.	A handful.

Peta Sunkam is identical with Sthalasunka.[76] There might be market places in Petas, as there were no markets

74. *Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions P. 175.*

75. *L.R. 37, P. 116 Bukkapatnam.*

76. *K.R. 13, Markapur, 16 Gadivemulu, 20 Sammatur, 36 Bollavaram, LR 1 Adirajakoduru*

in Kotas (forts) and hence this was known as Peta Sunka.

4. Santa : A tax was levied on articles sold on the weekly sandy days,[77] 'Santa' was a fixed market place where people gathered for selling and purchasing. Santas were held once in a week on a particular day at a selected village among a group villages.

Cata Sunka or Margadayas : The sunkam was collected on articles in transit on high roads. Pedda Chinna Naidu of Rollamadug was given a Magamasadhaka to collect duties with the rates mentioned on articles passed through Rollamadug.[78] Similarly Aliyaramaraya granted Kumara Peda Buchinayudu a nirupa (a charter) with rates mentioned to collect rusum on articles that passed through the passes of Suryakumara Cerikatta and Dongalasani in Cuddapah region. Mamuladaya was duty collected on export articles.[79]

5. Military and Police Taxes : Since the expire was organised an military basis the forts played on important role. They happpened to be the headquarters of provinces also. For defence purpose an army was kept. For this purpose a tax known as Durga Nivartana or Durgadannayanivartana was collected from the ryots of the

77. LR 15, Chalamardhiganda Patnam P. 82. ft.

78. Cdp. Ins. Rollamadugu PP. 786-9, Inscriptions dt. AD 1528 (S. 1443) LR 18 (initarayapalli).

79. M.MSS. 156.8 export duties.

villages.[80] The rates varied from place to place Alavaconda paid, 10 ga every year, most probably it was contribution of the villagers for the defence of their region. Talavarikam or Kavalikatnam: The villagers paid this duty to the talari for the defence of the village or villagers as the tax was also known as Kavalikatnam to be paid to the Kavaligar.[81]

6. Professional tax : Jatisiddayam : It is an exaggeration to say that Vijayanagar government collected this tax on every profession. Some jathisiddiyams were described in Attavana.[82] Most frequently, mentioned in insciptions is the barbers tax.[83] In a record from Gandikota Nandyala Timmaraju the Nayankara laid down a rule that the barbers had to pay one visa every day for playing their trade in 1550 A.D.[84] But it was soon abolished and barbears were exempted from payment of other taxes also by the edict of Sadasivaraya and Aliya Ramaraya and many epigraphs in Rayalaseema attest this.[85] The Cakalas, malas,

80. M.MSS. 15.3.86. P. 401

81. 118-5, a Rollamadugukaifiyat, Ibid 119-1 Kaifiet of Kotakonda; Cdp. Ins. Kompalle Cp. Dt. 1557 AD.

82. Attavana Vyavahara Tantra (Tel) edited by MP. R.P.P. 14-15.

83. L.R. 14 Pushpagiri P. 475.

84. L.R. 13 Pushpagiri P. 475.

85. I.A.P. Cdp. II 184 Varikunta, SII, XI-II 613 Pulamta, Ibid 612 Amarapuri; Ibid 614 Narasapuram. TI Atp. 177 Chilamakuru; I.A.P. Cdp. II, 183 Kutterag; I.A. Atp 34 Nasanikota; S.I.I. IX-II 626, Gadekallu; I.A.P. Cdp. II 179 Perumam; Ibid 182 Muttukuru; Ibid 193 Nallaballlli; Ibid 256. Nemalladinne; Cdp. Ins. Chinnamudiyam P. 61; IA, Ctr. 1042 Tariganda; I.A.P. Cdp. II 257, Ksigama, 77, I.A.P. Cdp. II 122 Gandikota PP. 154-55.

Boyi and Pancanamvaru were also to pay Jathisiddayas but they too were exempted from this. Nadindla Ahobala abolished it in 1585 AD on chakalas. Similarly, there were inscriptions stating that Siddayams collected from fishermen also abolished.[86] Pancalamvaru got exemption from payment of taxes on marriages, bullock carts loaded with paddy etc., from the king.[87]

7. Social and Economic Taxes : The pendli Sunka: There were inscriptions to prove that Pendli Sunkam was imposed on all castes and creeds. It was 3 rukas, 1 from bride and 2 from bridegroom were collected as stated by in an epigraoph of chidipirala.[88] This social evil was abolished once for all by Krishnadevaraya.[89] Copies of this edict were set up at important places.

Communal Taxes : Samaya Sunka : A levy was collected from the head of the caste or 'Kula Srestin' who regulated the caste rulers. At the marriages he collected tambula. He was required to pay a portion of this income to the Government as a tax known as Samayachara Sunka.[90]

86. S.I.I. IX-11 625 Kesavapuram P. 628 II Atp. 42.

87. I.A.P. Cdp. II, 36 Dongalasani P. 41, IA. Atp.28 Kadiri dt. 1418 A.D.

88. L.R. 33, Chidipirala PP. 201-2.

89. S.I.I. - IX - II 482 Agali Dt. 1510 A.d.

90. M.MSS 15.6.8 Samya Sunka.

8. Property Tax : Vallayam or Illari was a house tax collected at 1 ga per house.[91] Most probably it was in vogue in towns and cities.

9. Religions Tax : Maharaju Prayojanalu mentioned in L.R. 15 , 33 and 36 and M.MSS 15.3.6. at page 262 was a local tax collected for the celebration of festival of village deities. It was a local tax imposed in Rayalaseema.[92] There was royal sanction since it was collected for the celebration of the festivities in order to protect the royal dynasty and the kingdom from the wrath of village deities.

10. Taxes on Manyagramas : Jodi, Katnam, Kanuke, Khaddaya and Arasuperu were taxes mentioned in the epigraphs.[93] Jodi was a tax on inam or manya land paid by the Ayagars. But the Brahmadaya land holders also paid Jodi or Srotriyam. In addition Kappa, Katna,Kanike, Khaddayam were the other periodicals levied or presants made to the king or the Chief.[94]

Ganacara Tere,[95] Jiyartere[96] were the levies

91. I.A.P. Cdp. II 176 Penyavaram.

92. L.R. 15. 33. PP. 370-71, 36 Jilleala P. 486 M.MSS. 15-3-6 P. 262.

93. S.I.I. IX - II 63 423/1920 Pennahobilam.

94. Ibid.

95. I.A. Atp. Kanaganipalle.

96. I.A. Cdp. 105 Vallur; Ibid. 114 Bodur. Ibid 123 Bondalakunta; Ibid 27. Paddamudiyam. Ibid - Cidipirala; T.I. Atp. 174 Arkataumula; T.L. bel. 39 Muddanagera.

collected from Saivas mostly from Veeramusties and Vaishnava devotees by the Mathapeethadhipathies. Jatara was a levy collected for the celebration of a Jatara of a particular village.[97] There were some more annual levies collected from the people by Veeramusties, Vipravinodis, Dommaris etc. There are many inscriptions revealing about the existence of Veeramusti Pannu. Veeramustis were professional acrobates and mendicants who were attached to Devanga and Vaishya communities from whom they made their levy. They used to donate a part of their income to the Saiva temples and Mathas.[98] Vipravinodins, the Brahmin conjurers, collected Vipravinodini Pannu (tax) from people. They used to donate a part of their collection to the temple.[99] There are many inscriptions to attest this. Another vartane is Dommari Pannu. Every year Dommari an acrobat community, used to collect Dommari pannu from people. Many inscriptions reveal about Dommaris donating a part of their income to the local deity for the merit of their community.[100]

97. E.C. V. Ag. 7

98. Cdp. Ins. 52 Pottipadu, Peddamudiyam.

99. S.I.I. XVI 156 Boyakuppalur; Ibid 182 Yerragudi (Knl) Ibd 190 Kovilkuntla; IA 55 Bettalpalli(Atp); Ibid 71; Koppasti; 57 Ch. Hotturu; Ibid 58 Ch. Vaduguru; I.a. Cdp. 117 Bhimagundam; Ibid 170. Bhutamapuram; Ibid 213 Peddakomarla; TI Bel 40, Timapuram (Knl); S.I.I. IX-II 660 Chabala.

100. I.A.P. Cdp. II 81, Pushpagiri; IA (ATP) 60 Chitrachedu; Ibid Cdp. 105 Valluru; Ibid 115; Buderu; Ibid 176 Koduru, Ibid 416 Pandipalem.

OFFICIAL OPPRESSIONS -TAX REMISSIONS :

The practice of voluntary contributions for the annual festivals and the religious celebrations was also in vogue. The tax burden was so heavy during the later half of sixteenth century that the people used to desert their villages and began to migrate to distant lands.[101] But Rayas interfered and issued orders remitting or reducing the land revenue and other veatious taxes. In 1512 Krishnadevaraya remitted taxes collected from Devadaya and Brahmadaya lands of Kotacheruvu[102] and in 1513, reduced the rates of land revenue to convince the ryots of a village in the neighbourhood of Srimushnam migrated to come back.[103] During Achutadevaraya's times people of Kavutalam migrated to Manaveyasima but were given favourable rates of land revenue and other taxes to enable them to come back.[104] During the reign of Sadasivadeva Raya in 1556 A.D. on a complaint of the villages Mahamandaleswara Ramaraja Vittala rajayadeva Maharaja stopped the illegal collection of money at Yelanji, Somalapuram, Untakallu, and other villages and directed that the fines etc., collected should be utilized for repairing the tanks, temples etc.[105]

101. M. MSS 19-1-4 Kaifiet of Kautalam.

102. M.E.R. 180/1913 Kotacheruvu.

103. Ibid; 246/1916 Srimushnam

104. Ibid; 246/1916 Srimusnam; M.MSS. 19-1-4 Kaifiet of Kautalam.

105. I.A. Atp. 403 Yelanji P. 35.

Official oppression reached so high that Saluva Narasimha once had to send an expedition to suppress the tyranny. A local chief named Sambeta Guruvaraju whose atrocities reached the maximum pitch, used to inflict inhuman punishments to those who could not pay the highly burdensome taxes. Even the ladies were not spared. His oppressive activities were observed by a troop of dramatic performers, Kuchipudi Bhagavatulu. They wanted to teach him a lesson. So they exhibited the scene of the inhuman extractions of taxes by Sambeta Guruva raju of Siddhautam sima in a dramatic manner before the Raya in the palace. Raya at once became so indignant that he sent at once an expedition under a muslim officer named Ismail Khan to crush the Chief.[106]

The marriage tax was abolished by Devaraya in A.D. 1432.[107] Sri Krishnadevaraya abolished marriage taxes for all, irrespective of castes for all times, in A.D. 1510.[108] During the Achutadevaraya times panchanamvaru of five artisan classes of Kanaganipalli were exempted from payment of several taxes.[109] During the Sadasivaraya period learned Mahajanas of several sastriyam villages were

106. Further sources of Vijayanagara History. Vol III P. 287, LR56-(Kaifiet of Manchipalli) P. 66 ft.

107. I.A. Atp. 194 Kotipi.

108. I.A.P. Cdp. II-73 Rameswaram.

109. IA. Atp. 26 Kanaganapalle.

exempted from payment of several taxes like srotriyam, Katnam, Kanika, Sunka, Stavaras, Durgavartana, Dhanyavartana etc.[110] Due to the efforts of kondoju barbers of almost all regions were exempted from payment of Siddhaya and other taxes like tarige, Kanike etc.[111] Similarly fishermen of Kesavapuram of Gooty Taluk, Utukuru of Hindupur taluk were exempted from Siddhayalu (Professional tax) and other cesses like bitti birada etc.,[112] Washermen of Gandikota sima were given exemptions from payment of professional taxes and other levies.[113] The provincial Governors and royal officials were so oppressive that people had to hate them.[114] Sri Krishnadevaraya could not tolerate such type of oppression. He stated that a monarch who entertained in his service as officials who could not prevent migration of ruined cultivators expecting to profit himself by their departure could not be contended even with the sovereignity of the whole earth.[115]

VISABADI SYSTEM :

There was a curious revenue system known as

110. I.A.P. Cdp. II, 170 Mopuru; S.I.I. XVI 132 Kotapadu; Ibid 134 Akumalla.

111. Cdp. Ins. Kaifiet of Chinamudiyam P. 61.

112. T.I. Atp. 42, Bicaganipalli, S.I.I. IX II 625 Kesavapuram.

113. I.A.P. Cdp. II 122 Gandikota.

114. S.I.I. IX II 681 Chyabala; I.A.P. Cdp. II 120 Peddajutur.

115. A.M. 4; 237.

Visabadi in Rayalaseema.[116] In visabadi system the village community as a whole held land tenure, distributed the land among the ryots, collected land revenue accordingly in proportion of the land cultivated by the individual. Thus the land revenue of the entire village would be collected in lumpsum and paid to the Central authorities.[117] The above system resembled to the premitive stage where the property was held by the community, but, it is only a superficial "hiding the kernal of exploitation by the feudal class." This system was a means of resisting the over taxation or heavy assessment in many of the villages in Rayalaseema especially in Cuddapah region it was in vogue.

AMARANAYANKARA SYSTEM :

As the Kingdom of Vijayanagar was organised on a military basis many simas and villages were treated as amarams and assigned to the Nayakas, the military chiefs for their subsistance and enjoyment. They were assigned the administrative position also, and collected land revenue. Nuniz identified them as the captains and according to him there were 200 such Nayakas in the Vijayanagar Kingdom.[118] These captains would come to the captial and pay their quota of revenue to the king.[119] Some of the Nayakas

116. I.A.P. Cdp. II 38 Nandalur, Munroes Report Gazetteer of Cuddapah PP. 146-7.

117. Munroes Repot : Gazetteer of Cuddapah PP. 146-7.

118. F.E. Nuniz P. 370.

119. Ibid.

became very cruel. Due to their oppressive attitude some people left their villages and migrated to the neighbouring states. In Rayalaseema they held some torritories containing forts of Advani, Ceyyetidurgam, Gutti, Gandikota, Chandragiri, Gurramkonda, Ponukonda, Satyavidu, Narayanavanam, etc.[120] This system was less expensive and did not require much administrative machinary and at the same time the Nayakas were expected to maintain law and order in their respective Nayankaras and maintained a fixed number of forces and when required should be readily available with their forces.[121]

AYAGARS SYSTEM :

The third system was a direct contact with the ryot. The Officers of Gauda or Reddi, Shanubhoga or Karnam and Talari were traditional. They were the top most important persons in the twelve Ayagars system[122] which replaced the village assemblies of the ancient time. The Senabova or the Karnam was to maintain the village accounts or Gudikattu Kavile where the extent of land and crops grown were recorded and the list of the individual land holders were maintained so that the Government would maintain direct contact with the ryots of the village. The ryots would not hide anything i.e., the extent of land under cultivation and

120. Rayavachakam edited by C.V.R. Rao; P. 25.

121. F.E. Paes; P. 269.

122. M.MSS. 160-10 Attavana Vyavahara Tantra.

the crops grown in them. Next official was Gauda or Reddi. He was to collect land revenue and other cesses if any. He was the village Magistrate. He occupied a pivotal position of rural administration. As magistrate he could decide the cases of petty crimes. The talavari was to assist the Gauda in land revenue collection and also look after the defence of the village. At the time of annual Jamabandi the accounts were finalised and settled. The ayagars were not paid salaries but were assigned plots of lands in the villages. These grants were known as Mirasi or Inams. They had to pay quitrent called Jodi for their Mirasis.[123] In addition to this they had their prerequisite from the villagers on account of their influence. They had their un-official share of the land revenue because they showed less extent of arable land and less account of the extent of area in which different kinds of crops were grown. The talari in addition to Mirasi would have his meras in grain from ryots, and finished goods from artisans, because they feared him very much for he was the person to assign Vetti.[124]

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION:

The number of Rajyas in Vijayanagara Kingdom differed from ruler to ruler.[125] In Rayalaseema, Udayagiri, Gooty, Penukonda, Chandragiri, Kandanavolu, were the

123. M. MSS. 160-20 : Atrvana Vyavahara Tantra.

124. Ibid

125. Ibid.

important .headquarters of the Rajyas. The provincial administration was headed by a governor who was also called Durgadanayaka[126] because he was also the commander of the forces of the fort. The Rajya was divided into a number of districts called Simas eg., Renati sima, Pedda Nandyala, Pulivendala, Siddauta, Sakalisima, Pottapisima, etc. Each sima was subdivided into Nadus or Sthalas. In Nadu there might be Bandaravadi villages, Agraharas and Umbaligramas.[127] In Bandaragramas there were Gauda and Shanubhoga to attend the revenue administration and they were the links between the people and the Government. They Sthala might be the modern firka ruled by petty officials, Sthala Karanams. The Sthalakaranams had to maintain financial transaction and prepare annual income statement. The LR.6 of Alamkonda contain the annual income statement of the Sthala held by one Gurappa Nayadu.[128] They were under the administrative control of Parupatyagaras, appointed by the Governors. The Parupatyagara was authorized to impose or reduce the taxes, duties and levies.

The duties or levies and other taxes were being collected by a Sunkari or Sunka manyagar appointed or farmed tax collector in bidding. The toll former of

126. I.A.P. Cdp. II, 170 Mopur Existence of Dannayinivartam.

127. Ibid.

128. LR. 6. Alamkonda PP. 324-28.

Siddavatasima gave the Sthavara Katnam, Akula Kanuka, Pasaram Koluchu, Peyalu due from the village of Maddur to the Gods Istha Kameswari and Bhairava of Sinddhavatam in 1513A.D.[129] Some simas were held as Nayankaras. The Kocherlakota sima was under Mahamandaleswara Salakaraju Pinathirumalayya Deva Maharaju[130] who gave a gift of Tolls and other incomes of 2 villages to the God Channakesavaswamy. Koyala Kuntla was another Nayankara territory in 16th century held by Nandyala Narasingaraju deva maharaju.[131] By sixteenth century Nayankara territories were increased as we see a good number of the gift deed inscriptions in Rayalaseema. The Thanas were the offices of Sunkamanegaru.[132] For revenue department there was an office under Sthalakaranam. It was the duty of the officials of seema and Rajya to carry out the orders of the King. Sri Krishnadevaraya issued an order of remitting all the taxes like Gramakanta, Sunka Sthavaras etc., to the Mahajanas of Sarvamanya Agrahara of Koppolu, but the tax officers ignoring the order began to collect the taxes. It was found out at the time of Sadasivaraya who issued a fresh order remitting all the taxes and this edict was now inscribed on a stone and set up at the village for the notice of all by Mahamandaleswara Nandyala

129. I.A.P. Cdp. II, 108 Maddur.

130. S.I.I. XVI, 184, Markapur.

131. Ibid, 278 Koilkuntla.

132. I.A.P. Cdp. II, 187 Potladurti.

Naraparaju.[133]

In Brahmadaya Villages assemblies known as Sabhas continued to function as before. There were two types of Brahmadaya villages-ekabhoga and Ganabhogas. As the times passed on Ekabhoga villages were also transformed into ganabhogas.[134] The landed property was held by the Agrahara brahmna families. They divided the landed property into units known as Vrithis and alloted these Vrittis to the individual families according to the number of members or according to the agreement arrived at by the Sabha. If there were disputes they were settled by means of arbitrations.[135] Though there was increase of number of taxes, cesses and levies during the sixteenth century, as compared with those of 14th and 15th centuries there were abolitions, exemptions and remissions of taxes by the rulers as revealed from the study of inscriptions and from the above discussion. There was a general prosparity in rural areas also. As rural leaders followed their Kings in the construction works like construction of Mandapas and temples and improving water sources and extending their donation to the temples and Brahmanas and participating in other philonthrophic activities. The cost of living was very cheap as the purchasing power of Varaha was very high. It was observed by Nuniz "That in the market they gave 12

133. I.A.P. Cdp. II 165, Koppolu.

134. M. MSS. Mnt. 146-21 Kaifiet of Putiuru.

135. Ibid; 114-1 Karivema Page 91;

sheep for a pardao and 14 in the hills."[136] A pardao or pagoda is equal to 41/2 rupees. Majority of the people were contributing the voluntary levies such as Maharaja Prayojanalu, Dommari Pannu and Vipravinodini Pannu etc.

A Relation-ship between the ruled and ruler was so cordial that a part of revenue and other collections were assigned for the village temples or spent on public works like digging of tanks and channels etc. At the time of droughts the revenue and other taxes were remitted as many of the inscriptions found in Rayalaseema speak about the generous attitude of the rulers.

The above discussion leads to the following conclusions: First, the Vijayanagar rulers in Rayalaseema during the period under review discarded the traditional principle of collection of land revenue namely 1/6 of the produce from the peasants due to the varying needs of the dynasties concerned. They could not have followed a policy of oppressive taxation during the long years of existence, because, such a policy would have driven the peasants from land which was unwelcome to the rulers. Moreover, the availability of land in plenty and the general absence of pressure of population on land, had led the rulers to believe that over assessment would drive the peasants from land. Hence the problem was to keep the peasants on land and encourage the extension of agriculture by reclamation.

136. F.E. Nuniz. 356.

Secondly, the evidences from Rayalaseema indicate that the officials of the Vijayanagar Government followed one method or the other of measuring the lands as is proved by the existence of several kinds of measuring rods and instruments. Rekha and Bijavari were two important methods to denote the extent of the land adopted in this context.

Thirdly, the representatives of the Vijayanagar Government in Rayalaseema followed the theory of differential taxation namely wet lands had to pay more than dry lands. Even wet lands were further divided into various groups in Rayalaseema. The division of arable lands on the basis of soil, fertility and situation existed. All these things indicate that the rulers in Rayalaseema did not generally adopt orbitrary method while fixing the land revenue.

Fourthly, it appears from the evidence that after meeting the demands of the state, the non-agricultural classes and the primary producers, Rayalaseema was producing a surplus of several agricultural products which were disposed off through the channels of trade to which we shall turn our attention in the saperate chapter entitled "Commerce, Coinage and Transport in Rayalaseema." Since the peasants and the village community formed the backbone of the agrarian system, it is necessary to study the life and conditions of peasants and the caste composition of the villages as reflected in Rayalaseema. This will be thge subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

EMERGENCE OF NEW VILLAGES :

Predominantly Rayalaseema was a land of villages and towns and forts were comparatively less in number. Rayas encouraged migration and adopted the policy of deforestation and reclamation of new lands.[1] This policy contributed to the emergence of new villages. So the number of villages in Rayalaseema increased during this period. Where there was a water shed or a reservoir (or availability of drinking water), there developed a village around it.[2] Life was very simple and land was comparatively cheap and land tax was not burdensome enough to drive away peasants from lands.[3] Rulers like Saluva Narsimharaya exempted

1. C.P. Inscription quoted in Pratapa Reddi's Andhrula Sanghika Charitra P. 298-300. J.A. H.R.S. Vol. 36. PP 93-98. A.M. 4:256 M.MSS. Mnt. 6. Akkappalli.

2. Appadorai : 'Economic Conditions in South India' Para 3. PP.71-72.

3. F.E. PP 230-31; - 370

reclaimed lands in new villages from taxation for five years.[4] Since the agriculture was the main stay of the people, there was mobility of paeasant population in villages.[5] Rayas of all the four dynasties encouraged migration and permitted founding of new villages.[6] Krishnadevaraya states the Government's policy of helping the needy peasants in his renowned Kavya 'Amuktamalyada' thus "Desavaisalya Martha Siddhikini Mula / Mila Yokinthaina Gunta Kalvalurachinchi / Nayamu Pedaku Narigorunanu Nosangi/ Prabhala Jesinanu. Narthadharmamulu Perugun."[7]

The foundation of every new village was laid according to the customs and traditions. And all the facilities were provided for the village administration by appointing the village officers the Ayagars, generally from the village and with the consent of its people, so that every village would be self-sufficient and the life peaceful.[8]

The Attavana Vyavahara Tantram records that the villages were surrounded by fence.[9] Mithakshara insists that there should be a hundred dhanus pramana of open area

4. C.P. Inscription at 1490 A.D. quoted in Andhrula Sanghika Charitra. PP. 298-300.

5. Appadorai : 'Economic Conditions in South India' Para 3. PP. 71-72.

6. T.I. Ch. 174 A. Danadapalli; C.P. Inscription dt. 1440 A.D. quoted in A.S.C. PP. 298-300; L.R. 6 Akkapalli; M.E.R.A. 10/1912-13.

7. A.M. 4 : 236.

8. C.P. Dt. 14 Century Bharati. Telugu Monthly A.S.C. cp. lns - PP, 298-300.

9. M.MSS. Mnt. 160-10 PP. 32-6 Attavana Vyavahara Tantra

or bayalubhumi left in between the village and the agricultural lands.[10] The boundaries were marked by setting up stones here and there on the borders.[11] So that there might not be any possibility of encroachment by neighbouring villages. Separate sectors or Keries were alloted for the different communities or castes in the village.[12]

The upper caste people possessed either tiled houses or terraced structures built of mud.[13] The mud houses often caused much inconvenience during the rainy seasons.[14] Paes noticed single storied flat roofed houses in many parts of the country.[15] But the bulk of population lived in thatched houses well built as stated by Barbosa.[16] The houses of farmers had compound walls or fence with separate sheds or pendals to keep their cattle and the agricultural impliments.[17] This is also confirmed by Iban Batutas' statement that everybody had a garden attached to it and in the middle and round it a fence of wood.[18] The

10. Mitakshara 11-167.

11. I.A.P. Cdp. II. 151 Puttarayanipeta, I.A. (Cdp) 295 Kamalapuram.

12. Appadorai : Econimoc Conditions in South India para (ii) P. 78.

13. Vasucharitra 4: 72.

14. AM. 4- 123 Mattimiddela variki Marupanulaku Nelata basinavariki Niduracheduye.

15. F.E. Paes PP. 236, 238. 277.

16. Barbosa 1-P. 202; F.E. Barbosa P. 125.

17. H.V. 4: 124. S.S. 4: 408.

18. Lee's Iban Biuta PP. 164, 165, 167, 174.

artisans like handloom weavers had their residences or cottages conveniently built to pursue their cottage industry or occupation as described in Hamsa Vimsati.[19] This is also confirmed by Barbosa that the other houses of the people (meant common people) were thatched but none the less were very well built and arranged according to occupation in long streets with many open spaces.[20] The shepherds or gollas lived in separate localities and had their own huts or sheds and enclosures or Doddis to keep their sheep, goats and cattle as described in Hamsavimsati and in Panchatantra written by Venkatanatha Kaviraja of 15th century.[21] The poleyas or untouchables lived in seperate Keries in the outskirts of the village or towns foraway from the upper caste people.[22]

LIVING CONDITIONS :

The people of upper castes had luxurious life "It is no waste if one spends for one's own luxurious life" was the order of the day as expressed by Krishnadevaraya in Amuktamalyada.[23] Tavernier, a French traveller who passed through Rayalaseema says that there was rice available for purchase in all places.[24] The poet Narayanamatya mentions

19. H.V. 2:11

20. F.E. P. 125.

21. H.V. 2. 75, Panchatantra I. 586.

22. (EC. I Ch. II P. 78). Appadorai : Economic Condition in South India. P. Ch. II P. 78.

23. A.M. 4: 262.

24. Tavernier : Travels in India BK. I; Ch. 18 P. 271.

one hundred and eleven varieties of paddy in his master work Hamsavimsati, and describes many varieties of food grains and pulses, vegetables and fruits that were available.[25] This information was corroborated by the evidences of contemporary travellers. Yet according to Nuniz the common people suffered much hardship, those who held the lands being so tyranical.[26] They lived nearly on the margin and they hardly had more than what was needed for bare life. There is some truth in this statement particularly when failures of rain often led to a wide spread famine conditions. Incessant wars among the political powers often led to wide spread devasting conditions leaving the rural population in miserable conditions.

Rice, Ragi, Cholam was the stapple food of the commmon people.[27] Pulses of all kinds were consumed. Vegetables of all kinds were grown and used as food.[28] Meat and fish eating was a common thing among all classes except vegetarians.[29] According, to Nuniz, the rayas of Vijayanagara and with them the meat eating section of their subjects ate "mutton, pork, venison, patridges, Hares, Doves, quils and all kinds of birds".[30] After eating food betel

25. H.V. 4- 127 to 135 PP. 203-7

26. F.E. Nuniz. 354

27. Venkataramayya : Studies in the third Dynasty of Vijayanagara P. 388-89; S.S. 2 : 212.

28. A.M. 4: 134

29. A.M. 2 : 69 Jarunyatigacrta.

30. F.E. Niniz. P. 356.

chewing-Tambula was a common practice in 16th century. People were accustomed to add musk camphor to Tambula.[31] The virtues of Tambula were well narrated by the contemporary traveller Abdul Razaak "it relieves hunger, stimulates the organs of digestion, disinfects the breath and strengthens the teeth."[32] To receive it from the king was considered a special honour.[33] The Andhras were said to have been specially skilled in the art of preparing the scents as stated by the Poet-King Krishnadevaraya:

Gandhakalana Kusuma sragghrathana nandhyambulay
Kalaru nandhra deseeyulagu Gandhakarulu.[34]

The love of sweet scents and love for sweet smelling flowers like roses was insatiable.[35] People liked to spend hotter days in summer under the Jasmin bushes.[36] Rose ,Jasmin, Champak, Jaji, Virajaji, Molla, Ketaki etc., were the favourite varieties of flowers of the times.[37]

Brahmins were given the highest regard in the

31. Manu Charitra. 2 : 24.

32. Eth's Histrory of India, Abdul Razaak IV P. 117.

33. Eth's History of India, Abdul Razaak IV P. 117.

34. AM. 4 : 35

35. Abdul Razaak noted the number of rose merchants in Vijayanagara and added that rose seeemed as necessary as food to the poeple of the city - quoted by K.A.N. Sastry in History of South India. P. 328.

36. AM. 2 : 71.

37. Venkataramanayya : A Study of the third Dynasty of Vijayanagara (iii) 3. P. 376.

village community. They were the privileged classes. They held lands known as Brahmadaya. The brahmadaya village were known also as Agraharas. There were many Agraharas in Rayalaseema as attested by many inscriptions.[38] Some of the brahmanas held highest position in the administration. Saluva Thimma, Kondamarasa, Ayyapparasa, Demarasa etc., belonged to this class.[39] Some were great scholars.[40] and some were priests. The Mahajanas of the Agrahara villages managed the cultivation of lands also. Velamas, kapus, Kammas and Sudra Castes were prominent in the Villages.

The Vysyas were the trading communities since the ancient times. They were known as Komatlu, and settlu. They worked as middle men in trade with foreign merchants. The period witnessed the rise of a new merchant community known as Vira Balanjas.[41] They engaged themselves both in internal and external trade.[42] These communities maintained close contacts with the villages and some of

38. M.MSS. Mnt 114. 1. Karivena; I.A.P. cdp 11. 27 Turumilladinne, Ibid 95. Tippalur E.I. I. Cp. 3 Pedachepalle PP. 31-43 Etc.

39. T.I. ATP. 42 Tadipatri; Ibid 30 Kambadur. S.I.I. XVI 87 Srisailam, I.A.P. Cdp. 78 Kokatam.

40. Rayavavhakam : Alasani Peddana - 80. Prabhakara Sastrulu 11, Mallaya 61, Ramadikshitulu 11, Timmana 61.

41. I.A.P. Cdp. 11-10 Animela.

42. L.R. 37 Nitten (Cdp) P. 3 L. 3; N.V.R. : Studies in the History of III Dynasty of Vijayanagara P. 360.

them owned lands there. The Sudras formed the backbone of the nation and the prosperity of the nation depended on them, to a very great extent.[43] The Reddies, Velamas and Kammas of the Sudra castes were the land-owning communities. They were responsible for the prosperitiy of Vijayanagara empire. Kapus came into prominance from the time of Devaraya since the Reddi Chief Panta Mailara had pleased Devaraya by crushing the wicked Kings and by paying homage to the Raya and giving him the great gifts. This is related in an inscription of 1428-29A.D.[44] The military achievements of Krishnadevaraya were of course responsible for the close co-operation with them as suggested in an epigraph dt. 1516 A.D.[45] It states that upon the request of chief Gangareddi, the Chief of Gangadhara, son of vetta the Raya donted the village Nagulavarama to the brahmana named Surya who had predicted that the Telugu country would pass into the hands of Vijayanagara. Though Kapu, Kamma and Velama communities occupied a high position in military they were the landed gentry of the country and were appointed as Amaranayakas. Many inscriptions attest of this. Some of the Suydra families like Kapus possessed landed property, but majority of them could not get sufficient income from their lands, for their subsistence. They had to work as tenants or as farm labourers to make up the deficiency. Some of the Sudras belonged to the artisan

43. Satyanarayana : A Study of History and Culture of Andhras. II Ch. IX P. 400.

44. N.i. V. 17 P. 153.

45. Ibid. I. P. 127-128.

classes like Gandla Balanja the oil mongers[46], Togata, Jandra, sale, the weaving communities,[47] Kammara, Kanchara, Agasala, Silpakara, Vodla - the Panchalanamvaru,[48] Uppara makers of salt, Kummara - the potters and other occupational castes belonged to this class. Like the poor farmers, they too had limited income. They had to work as agricultural labourers. Their condition was precarious under famine conditions. At times they had to move from place to place in search of work for their livelyhood. Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian traveller of the 15th Century says "the land is over stocked with people but those in the country are very miserable whilest the nobles are externally opulent and delight in luxury."[49]

The Chandalas or pariah, the Madiga or Sekari and mala were considered as the fifth varna members - Panchamas.[50] They worked on agricultural lands as labourers. The malas took up weaving as subsidiary occupation. Though worked on farms, Madigas also attended the work of leather tanning and supplied chappals and leather buckets, ropes and other leather goods required by the farmers.[51] The Chandalas, Malas and Madigas were

46. I.A.P. Cdp. ii. Chidipirala PP 170-7

47. LR. 6 Rayarekha of Alamakonda P. 324, AM 4 : 35.

48. LR. 18 Vantimitta P. 404

49. R.H. Major : India in 15th Century - the travels of Athanasius Nikitin P. 4.

50. S.I.I.X.; P. 395.

51. Venkataramanayya : A study of III Dynasty of Vijayanagara P. 361 AM. 64-78.

treated as untouchables and were living outside the villages. They were looked down upon and illiterate. They had to do vetty or voluntary labour and obey orders without a word.[52] Barbarous punishments were given to them for petty crimes[53]. They were debarred from Society. Some of them resorted to highway robbery.[54]

The author of Hamsavimsati, gives a long list of sub-castes of Rayalaseema and they are as follows: Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya or Komati, Kamma, Velama, Kapu, Vekari, Patra, Golla, Kummara, Valaganda, Besta, Chippe, Kammara, Kale, Kanchare, Yagasala, Satai, Katika, Battu, Jetti, Jandra, Thogata, Gandla, Chitrakara, Vandimagada, Vaithalika, Jaina, Gurjara, Gadamirulu, Bheri, Bhaliya, Chatiki, Srugalaka, Chetra Jatulu, Boya, Yeruku, Chenchu, Yenadi, Jalagari, Vanivanni, Gattu, Rambali, Ediga, Medari, Veeramusthi, Masthi, Odde, Nasidavaka, Mailari, Turuka, Pinjari, Vipravinodulu, Jatikarta, Dommari, Domini, Bommalatavaru, Kshuraka, Rajaka, Bhogamu, Jangalu, Dasari, Padigevaru, Gorada, Jogulu, Katipapalu, Pichiguntla, Chandala, Mathangi etc.,[55] Kammara, Chakala, Mangala, Kummara, Agasala, Jalarulu, Madiga, Castes, had their representations in Ayagaru system and had their mirasis or

52. Ibid; M.MSS. 15.6.8 Sato PP. 3-4.

53. Satyanarayana : A Study of History and culture of Andhra IX P. 401.

54. Venkatanarayana : A Study of III Dynasty of Vijayanagara P. 361 A.M. 64-78.

55. H.V. 3 : 29.

Manyams.[56] The Ashtadasa Vargas included Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vysya, Sudra, Vyavaharika (Lekharulu), Gorakshak (gollas), Silpakarulu (masons), Panchanamvaru, Kumbakarulu, Tantuvayulu (sales), Kshurakas (Barbers), Rajakas (washermen), Vasthra Kshedakulu (Tailors), Charmakarulu (Godarivaru), Tilagathakulu (Telukula varu), Lubdakulu (Mamsa Vikrayulu), Chandaluru (mala), Mathangulu (Mad iga).[57] Boyas were the hunting community, they were appointed as Talavaries of the villages, Kavaligars, and Palegars. Yekarulu (Yakela) a tribal community had a good social status. Their leaders were employed or appointed as Kavaldars.[58] Yerakala Yenadi, Chenchu etc., were the tribal people living near the forests.[59]

The futility of caste system and its debasing effects on the progress of civilization was exposed by Vemana, the celebrated poet, who led a vagrant life and wandered in Rayalaseema.[60]

People from neighbouring regions migrated to Rayalaseema. The people of Molakaseema migrated to Dronachalam region, and founded a new village during Saluva Narasimharayas reign. A Kavul was granted to the

56. M.MSS. 15.6.8. Sato PP. 3-4 Attavana Vyavharalu Tantram.

57. Attvana Vyavahara Tantram A.M.M. Edited by MPR P. 6

58. M.MSS. 118-5a /121-22 Rallamadugu Kaifiet.

59. AM. 4: 221, 222.

60. Venkateswara : Vemanantaralaloki P. 86, Gopi : Vemanavadam P. 27.

people of Ashtadasa Varnas including Gollas and Boyas and were to settle there.[61] Mirasis were granted to the Reddi, Karnam, Kammara, Chakala, Mangala, Kummara, Agasala, Talari, Madiga and Purohit.

Similarly, Achutadevaraya granted a Kavul to the Reddi families of the sea side country to construct a new village and tax remissions were given to the new village in Gandikota Sima. The Reddy and Karnams were appointed to every village.[62] Tax remissions were given to the new villages. Lands were given freely to the purohit and the other Brahmanas and the village tempies. Mirasis were sanctioned to the Ayagars including artisans so that every major village should become self sufficient in all respects.[63]

Besides land owners - great and small there was a fairly large section of landless labourers, who worked on the farms and shared the produce. Some of them were less to do with the management of the village. But they lent their co-operation through free labour on the construction works like building temples or digging tanks and channels for the irrigation of agricultural lands etc.[64] At times wealthy philanthropists would come forward to construct a water source in the village, since providing water facilities was

61. Cp. dt. 1490. A.D. referred in Andhrula Sanghika charitra. P. 298.

62. MER A 10/1912-13.

63. Pratapa Reddy : Andhrula Sanghika Charitra. P. 298.

64. T.I. (etc) 1880 CP. 10. ARE 1921 cps. 56 & 8 Gooty of Anantapur Dist.

considered to be one of the Sapta Santhanams.[65] Often the Rayas donated villages to temples Mathas and Brahmanas. The villages given as gifts to the temples were knwon as Devathagramas which were manged by the trustees of the temple on lines of Bandaravadi Villages.[66] The villages given to Brahmanas were known as Agrahara villages.[67] The Agrahara villages in Rayalaseema during this period were in a flourishing conditon. In Agrahara village the lands were distributed in the ratio of Vrittis.[68] There were also villages which remitted land revenue in lumpsum. They were known as Visabadi villages.[69] When there was much economic development the village would become big, when joined by migrants it would become bigger and finally would grow into a town. Thus towns came into existence in some places.

UNITY AND CO-OPERATION :

Though the ancient democratic system in the uru

65. *List of Irrigation facilities provided by wealthy Philontrophists.*

66. *List of Devadayagramas T.I. (ATP) 39, Ramapuram, S.I.I. SVi - 43 Atmakur, T.I. (ATP) 40, Tummadipalli; IAP Cdp. II. 70 Pushpagiri, S.I.I. XVi 53 Ch. Ahobilum, S.I.I. (X) II. 537 Ganapathihalli, Ibid 58. Nandicherla, ibid 572 a village to Lapakshi temple. T.I. Atp 79 Lapakshi, 2 Villages.*

67. *List of Brahmadaya Villages: IAP Cdp. 63 Arkatavemula, Ibid 95, Thippaluru, M.MSS. 147-2 Kokatam P. 263, Ibid 24-14 Dornipadu, P. 148, T.I. Bel B. Bommalapuram T.I. Atp. 173, Arkata Vemula, Ibid 28, Munimadugu, T.I. Ctr. 29, Arumgulam, Ibid 168 A: Madanapalli, Ibid 174 A Dondapalli.*

68. *Indian Archeology, a review 1865-66 Garantla P.61, T.I. Atp. 28, Manimadugu, Ibid 173, Arkatavemula, TI. Ctr. 168, a Madanapalli; Ibid 263, Narayanavanam.*

69. *Monroe Report quoted in A Study of History and Culture of Andhras. P. 351.*

was weakened, giving place to Ayagar system there was still the democratic norm-mutual co-operation in the village communities. The feudalistic administrative decentralization policy of the Vijayanagara rulers also contributed to this development. The local institutions were quite alive in a feudal-federal set up. Among the twelve Ayagars, Reddi, Karnam and Talari occupied important positions in the village administration. The Reddy acted as an agent of the Government and Karnams maintained Agricultural acounts, and survey records. While Talari assisted the Reddy and Karnam. Besides he maintained law and order and acted as watchman of the village.[70] The caste guilds improved production in the industry, and maintained standards in their products.[71] The gifts or the mirasi or Inams encouraged artisans to create innovation in the cottage industries.[72] The weekly Santalu provided an opportunity for the movement of finished goods. In all these activities we find mutual co-operation and a greater degree of self-sufficiency in the village communities.

The agriculture was the main source of income in the villages. All the members of the different sub-castes participated in the cultivation of lands either as tenants or labourers. The peasant needed the services of the artisans in the agricultural production. Hence there was mutual

70. M.MSS. 10610. *Attavana Vyavahara Tantram PP. 320-36.*

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*

understanding which led to mutual co-operation among the different caste guilds in the village.

Under famine conditions, the village as a whole united to seek tax remission from the rulers. In sixteenth century, people at Chabala[73] and people at Kavthalam[74] forced the rulers to extend remission of taxes; the local temples served as conference halls to take decisions concerning the welfare of the community. The important festivals like Maharnavami, Telugu Ugadi etc., were celebrated in the villages.[75] In addition to them they celebrated car festivals and Kalyana Utsavas of the deities of the temples of their villages. The village elders used to take decisions and acceptance of the villagers and then collected the subscriptions needed for these celebrations. An epigraph records that the Reddies and Karnams of Yellanuru village and the neighbouring villages included in the Samutha took decision to subscribe at the rate of two rukas for every hundred of the total land assessment or Sistu Beriju for the car festival of deities.[76]

The Maharaja Prayojanalu a local tax in parts of Kurnool and Cuddapah districts was being collected for the celebration of annual festival of the village deity Ankalamma

73 S.I.I. IX-I/681, Chyabal

74 M.MSS. 19-1-4 Kaifiyat

[illegible] donated on [illegible]

for the protection of the emperor and the Kingdom and the people from the evil spirit.[77] The people of these localities used to voluntarily contribute the taxes and participated in the festival. These festivals served as associations for the social gatherings.

The disputes with regards to the village boundaries between the villages and disputes with regards to the Vrittis between Agraharikas were settled by means of arbitration and mutual understandings.[78]

The co-operation among the villages was further seen in selecting the personnel from the neighbouring Sthalas and to preside over the Panchayat. The traditions and conventions were followed in the settlement. The village assembly or the elders or Mahajanas in Agrahara villages, some times, acted as guardians of the public endowment and charities which were in the form of lands.[79] The temple money was usually lent to the needy villagers on interest to enable them to get over the financial troubles.[80]

The above examples are simple proof to show that the members of the village community during the period under review were bound together in the spirit of co-

77. *L.R. 15 (Gandikota) P. 127; L.R. PP. 370-71 and LR 36 Jillella P. 468.*

78. *M.MSS Mnt. 143-3 PP. 221-25.*

79. *Ibid PP. 222-3.*

80. *D.N. Jha's Editorial - Studies in early Indian economic History - temples and merchants in South India (900-1300 A.D.) Barun De etal - New Delhi / 1980 Page . 96.*

operation and mutual interdependency. They came forward to lend their support to the combined action which would result in the common welfare of the community. Thus the agraian institutions have survived the ravages of the times. The survival of some of these traditions and customs upto this day indicate their usefulness to the village community.

To some extent the self governing institutions of the villages of pre-Vijayanagara period received a set-back as a result of the development of the Ayagar system in Bandaravadi Villages. Besides the Vijayanagara rulers distributed many of the villages among the captains of the armies called the Nayakas. Hence the Amara Nayankara system came into existence. Likewise in the border areas the villages were given as Inams to the autocratic village leaders who in the subsequent period became Poliagars. In course of time these Poliagars became so powerful and indulged in committing crimes against villagers that the rulers found it very difficult to crush them. Only in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the European Officer, Thomas Munroe, was able to crush them once for all. Further the caste system with its rigidity and the age old Jati-dharma traditions and customs contributed to the degeneration of the social conditions in the villages. But it had also contributed much for development of many industries in Rayalaseema which form an interesting subject for our discussion.

CHAPTER VI

INDUSTRIES.

In addition to agricultural production, the prosperity of Rayalaseema depended on economic activities connected wtih various industries. The industries of Rayalaseema were of two kinds : (i) Agricultural based industries or the industries which directly depended on agricultural raw materials. Among them, mention may be made of textiles, and production of jaggery, sugarcane, oil seeds and neeli (indigo), (ii) Industries which depended upon non-agricultural sources particularly metals, wood etc., Both the types existed in Rayalaseema.

A prominent feature of industrial production in the region was that some castes had become famous for the production of standardized articles and such castes had a clear occupational base in the social set-up of Rayalaseema.[1] Though this feature existed since the time

1. In society new sub-castes were forming on occupational basis such as shepherds (Gollas) and ploughmen (Holikas)". K.A.N. Sastry : History of South India' P. 97.

of the Satavahanas, it was institutionalised in a rigid way during the Vijayanagara period. Hamsavimsathi refers to many such castes of Rayalaseema which were associated with several non-agricultural occupations. Golla, Kammara, Kanchara, Agasala, Vadla, Silpakara, Kummara, Jandra, Thogata, Sale, Gandla, Idiga Medara etc., were some of these castes engaged in manufacturing.[2] These castes in course of time acquired the characteristics of guilds which were known as Srenis. In other words, caste guilds became craft-guilds on the basis of hereditary principles where in the tradition of handing over the techniques of a particular industry to their sons was well established. This was also true of the merchants who specialised in trading of a particular commodity and established trade guilds accordingly like corn-dealers, Braziers, flourists and iron mongers.[3]

Industries required raw materials-metals such as Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron and Diamonds. Rayalaseema's soil provided good opportunities for the Reddy and Kamma farmers to grow cash crops like cotton, sugarcane and oil seeds. Black soil area of the region was suitable for the cultivation of cotton. Oil seeds were grown in dry areas of Rayalaseema. Sugarcanes were grown wherever natural and artificial irrigation sources were available. As far as metals were concerned we may note the following information.

2. *H.V. 3 : P. 29.*

3. *"Each group of traders-corn dealers,brazires, weavers, flourists, iron mongers and scribes-was organised into guilds" : K.A.N. Sastry : History of south India P. 48.*

Gold was available in many parts of South-India. Gribble says, that "the whole of Deccan from Mysore upto the northern limits of Nizam's dominian has a belt of gold bearing quartz".[4] Traces of Gold workings are numerous in all the districts of Rayalaseema.[5] Along with Gold, the mines of Diamonds, Silver, Copper and Iron might have been come up. Ancient mines of copper exist in the Kurnool and Nellore districts.[6] In the tracks situated between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers Hematite occurs in huge amounts.[7] Metals that were not available were imported from foreign countries; Quick silver from Judda, Copper from Eastern countries and Lead from Mecca and Eden were some of the metals imported.[8] In addition to the patronage of Rayas, the local markets and foreign markets too, further developed industries in Rayalsaseema region. According to Barbosa there was infinite trade in the capital and in country itself.[9]

TEXTILE INDUSTRY :

Among the cottage industries cotton and textile industry occupied an important position in the field of

4. *Gribbles : History of Deccan.*

5. *Dipak Ranjan Das : "Economic History of Deccan-158" Traces of Gold working were numerous in Cuddaph and Kurnool Districts as well as in palanad in Guntur District.*

6. *Ibid; P. 158.*

7. *Ibid; P. 159*

8. *M.MSS; 15-6-8.*

9. *F.E; P.125.*

industries. It was in flourishing condition during this period. Thogata, Sale, Jandra, and Kurni were the communities specialised in the art of weaving.Thogata weavers manufactured coloured fabrics while sale prepared white calico-cloth as mentioned in Rayarekha of Alvakonda.[10] Kurnis originally weavers of wool took up weaving of cotton and silk fabrics.[10a] On the borders of TamilNadu in Chittoor district there were Kaikkolars (Sengundam Mudaliars) the weavers par excellence. They were said to have been enjoying certain privilages such as Tandu and Sangu, conferred upon them by the Government.[11] The weaving communities have separate quarters in the village.[12] The master weavers used to carry cloth to the weekly markets or Santas.[13] There were famous centres for cloth production in Rayalaseema. Jammalamadugu, Tadiparthi, Dharmavaram, Alvakonda, Adavani, Gooty and Bellary were some of them.[14] The course cloth was available in all the places. The weaving communities had their craft guilds basing on the castes. Kula Setti was the head of the Sreni or guilds. Vamanur in Cuddapah district had a weavers guild.[15] In addition to the Sudra castes like Thogata, Sale,

10. L.R. 6 Textile Industries P. 6 P. 324.

10 a. Thurston " Castes and Tribes in South India" New Delhi 1975- Vol IV PP130-32

11. M.E.R. 473/1912.

12. F.E.

13. H.V. 1:55: AM 35

14. M.MSS Mnt. 160-16

15. Cdp. Ins. Chittavelu Tq. inscriptions dt. 1543 A.D.

Jandras-Malas too took up weaving profession as subsidiary industry.[16] They used to weave coarse cloth. The carding and combing and spinning were the subsidiary industries basing on the cotton weaving and textile industries. The pinjanigaru attended carding and combing.[17] Yarn was also produced in the houses of the farmers.[18] The raw material required was cotton which was grown in plenty in Rayalaseema regioz.[19] Neeli (Indigo) was a vegetable dye produced by the farmers for the textile industries.[20] The dying of yarn and also cloth was done by the weaver himself. As referred by the poet Srinatha there were cotton Kullayies or Shirts, Uttariyams, Jari laced Kurpasanams etc., in use by the people.[21] The trade in cotton textiles was flourishing condition.[22] There was also demand for cotton-cloth in European markets.

SILK INDUSTRY :

Silk Industry was also in flourishing condition. Pattu Sales and Thogatas were engaged in the industry. There

16. N.V.R. Studies in the III dynasty of Vijayanagara P. 304.

17. E.C. XI MK 1; LR 3 Cidipirala (Cdp).

18. S.S. 2; 416-19 and 421

19. A.P. Year Book. PP 133-5 and 176-7 M.MSS. Mnt 160-10.

20. C. Machenzies LTs: Vol. 135 M. 642 Vatapalli M. 650.

21. Srinatha's Veedhinatkam.

22. Barbosa (ii) P. 130-2.

was also reference about Pattu Sales in Amuktamalyada.[23] Dharmavaram, Gutti, Rayadurga and Bellary were centres for silk industry.[24] The silk fabrics of Rayalaseema might have competed with the Japan silk in the local markets. As silk was also imported.[25]

The Panchanamvaru or Panchalas claim their origin from Viswakarma who have five sons, Manu, Maya, Silpi, Thvastra, Viswagna, Daivagna representing five crafts - Kammara, Vadla or Vdranga, Silpakara (Architect), Kanchara (Alloy industry) and Agasala (Goldsmith).[26] In a village, they lived in separate quarters. They usually were attached to the temples in which they resided and without their services, in fact the temples could not have been maintained. The following are the industries pursued by the members of Panchanamvaru Kammara, Vadranga, Silpa, Kanchara and Agasala.

KAMMARA INDUSTRY :

The most important industry from the point of view of the village economy was Kammaramu or blacksmithy. Blacksmiths or Kammaras were the sub-caste of Panchanamvaru. There was a need for agricultural implements, domestic articles, knives, sticks etc,. all made

23. AM. 4 :35.

24. M.MSS. Mnt. 160-10.

25. Ibid. Purchas His Piligrims X P. 99.

26. Triennial Catalogue P. 294.

of iron. In every village there would at least be one blacksmith. As the profession was of vital importance the Kammari had his place in the 12 Ayagars of the village. He had his inam and meras from the ryots.[27] In addition he charged some money or grain for making the iron articles. Iron was also used in building of houses. There was also demand for the production of war weapons such as swords and shields etc.[28]

KANCHARI OR ALLOY INDUSTRY :

Alloy industry was also in thriving condition. Kanacharis of the sub-caste of Panchanamvaru were engaged in this industry. The raw metals required were copper, tin, lead which were available. The copper, the bronze and the brass were useful in the preparation of domestic utensils. The bonze which began to be used on extensive scale in the 10th and 11th centuries continued to flourish during the Vijayanagara period. "Regarding the localities of manufacture" according to Appadorai " they too had the tendency to get-established near the places of worship where pilgrims met or near the courts and centres of business."[29] Tirupati and Kalahasti probably might have become famous centres for this industry.[30] The industry was

27. *M.MSS. Mnt.NC 160-10. Attavana Vyavahara Tantram.*

28. *Scop. Cit. P. 71.*

29. *Appadorai : 'Economic Conditions in South India' Vol. II Ch, IV P. 451.*

30. *K.A.N. Sastry : History of South India P. 488*

in flourishing condition in some other important business centres.

JEWELLERY (GOLDSMITHY) :

There was a general fascination for ornaments.[31] The precious metal and stones used in this industry were gold, silver and many varieties of diamonds. The Agasalas or Kamsalas were the experts in making ornaments.[32] Sri Krishnadevaraya gave a gift of crown and varieties of ornaments with nine kinds of gems to Lord Venkateswara.[33] He gave a gift of a necklace, a ruby and a diamond pendant inset with an emerald, a pair of bracelets set with rubies to Lord Lakshminarasimha of Ahobilam.[34] These were some of the ornaments prepared by our Goldsmiths. The presenting ornaments to the deities of the temples by the people,[35] Royal Officers,[36] Amaranayakas[37] and Royal families and the Kings,[38] reveal the flourishing condition of the jewellery industry. Further the people had a great love for ornamentation according to Abdul Razaak who visited

31. Studies in the History of III Dynasty of Vijayanagar P. 373 : F.E. Paes P.263

32. I.A.P. Cdp. II 36 Dongalasani : I.A. Atp. 238 Kadiri.

33. I.A.T. : 96-211.

34. T.I. (Knl) 578 Ahobilam.

35. S.I.I. IX-II 579 Lepakshi.

36. T.I. (Knl) 450 Srisailam.

37. I.A. (Ctr) Tirumala 5685.

38. S.I.I. IX-II 500 Srisailam, 549 Lepakshi.

the Kingdom in the fifteenth century. He says "All the inhabitants of the country both of those exalted rank and inferior class down to the artisans of the bazaars wear pearls or rings adorned with precious stones in their ears and their necks on the upper part of the hands."[39] This statement reveals the patronage received by the goldsmith. The Telugu literature of the time refers to the ornamentation of different kinds. Nutanakavi Surana, author of Dhanabhi Ramamu gives a list of twenty six ornaments-Kammalu, paccalakadiyalu, Patakamu, Molanulu, Bahu Purulu, Punjaladandalu, Pudela, Kadiyalu, Mungaralu, Rakattu-Ungaralu, Mutyalaperulu Montnulu, Drilu, Kuntenalu, Nilala Kantesaralu, Mungamurambulu, Mugapulatigalu, Sandul Danadalu, Sarapanulu, Pasidiettulu, Nevalalu, Annasaralu, Cerubotlu, Talilu, Cevula Purrulu, Kadulamettalu and Pillandru.[40] The goldsmiths were credited as having manufactured the throne in the royal court, vajrasimhasana and obtained exemption from certain taxes as reward.[41] There are inscriptions one at Gaunivari Palle (Hindupur Taluk) Dt. 1418 A.D.[42] and the other at Kadiri Dt.1418 A.D.[43] confirming the exemption of taxes on marriages, on bullock carts loaded with paddy etc., in four nadus. Abdul Razaak

39. Major : Abdul Razaak P. 26.

40. Nutanakari Surana 'Dhanabhiramamu'.

41. S.I.I. IX - II 438 Kadiri, 439 Gaunivaripalli. (Hdp. Taluk).

42. S.I.I. IX - II 439 Gaunivaripalli; IA Atp. 238 Kadiri.

43. I.A. Atp. 238 Kadiri.

speaks of this throne which was of a prodigious size, made of gold in laid with beautiful jewels ornamented with exceeding delicacy and art.[44]

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE :

The silpies were experts in constructing four types of buildings prasadesu Chaturvideshu" and also grasping the geometry involved in the study of Vastu.[45] There are many temples standing perfectly even today to tell the craftmanship of the sculpters of Rayalaseema. Many philonthropists and royal officials gave them dasavanda gifts of lands for constructing temples.[46]. The temples at Tadipatri and the temple complex at Lepakshi with fresco paintings and statues at the temples were the fine examples of the magnificient achievement of our sculptors maintaining the Vijayanagara School of Architecture throughout the period.[47] The ornamentation on the pillars and ceilings further reveal their artistic taste.

VADRANGA (CARPENTRY) :

One of the sects of Pancanamvaru was Vadla or Rathakara. The Vadla caste had representation in the twelve Ayagar of the village because it was the most important

44. F.E. Abdul Razaak P. 93.

45. Ibid Paes - 251, 255, 273, 267.

46. S.I.I. XVI. 199 Ch. Ahobilam PP 205-6; Ibid 268 Gundala PP 275 -

47. N.V. "Stdies in III Dynasty of Vijayanagara" PP 443.

and indispensable craft from the villagers point of view. In Nallamala forests wood for the furniture was available. The Vadrangi had to prepare the wooden materials required in the construction of buildings and houses. He had to supply to the farmer, the Agricultural implements. He had his mera for attending to the repair works at the farmers houses.[48] In Telugu literature we find the description of many kinds of wooden furniture available at the houses of the rich people. The Palanati Veeracharitra of the period contained the different items of wooden furniture.[49] All these reveal the flourishing condition of the industry. The wooden Rathas were also built by Vadrangi, and without his presence the Rathas would not move.

OIL CRUSHING INDUSTRY OR TELIKA :

Oil Crushing was another industry thriving as a cottage industry. The caste engaged in this industry was Gandla Balanja.[50] "Akhiladesala Telikavegaru" denotes thousands of sects of oil mongers belonging to various categories.[51] That means the Telikavaru could be found every where and in any village. Oil was obtained from seeds of gingily, linseeds and caster seeds. It was useful as one of the items of food as a cooking media, as a hair-oil and

48. M.MSS Mnt. 160-10 Attavana Vyavahara Tantram. E.I.V. 14 Dt. 1191.

49. Srinatha's Palanati Veera Charitra P. 64

50. E.I. Vol. P. 335.

51. Inscriptional Glossory of A.P. P 130

as also lighting purposes. There were rich people in Gandla Balanja caste who gave gifts to the deities of the temples as many of the epigraphs in Rayalaseema reveal this.[52]

JAGGERY AND SUGAR INDUSTRY :

Sugarcane was grown in wet lands. The Sugarcane juice could be obtained by hand pressing mills. The juice was boiled in large pans and Jaggery was made.[53] Sugar was in powdered shape as stated by Barbosa.[54] It was a prosperous industry. The farmers and other merchant class were engaged in this industry. The rulers collected "Kabbina or Aleya Sunka" from Jaggery makers.[55] Palmsugar was obtained from date palms which was known to Rayalaseema people. It was a popular industry.[56] In Amuktamalyada there was a description how some people spent their hotter days in Summer in the gardens of sugarcane.[57]

SALT INDUSTRY :

Though Rayalaseema did not have any sea coast there was salt industry in thriving condition during this periopd. Many people were absorbed in this industry. It was

52. S.I.I. XVI-II 245 Ch. Belagalu. I.A.P. Cdp. II Chidipirala

53. AM 2 : 70

54. Barbosa I P. 188.

55. E.C. XI D.G. 106 E.C. III IM 95.

56. Barbosa I.P. 189.

57. AM 2:70 & 71.

manufactured from saline earth which was removed and spread on the surface of the pans specially prepared.[58] After the water was evaporated, salt remained. It would be found in crystals. The local rulers in Adavani seema issued orders to regulate this industry.[59] It was also popular because there were inscriptions containing presentation of salt pans to the gods of the temples.[60]

Pottery and wooden and blanket weaving were some other industries, making the villages self sufficient.[61] There were other professions and occupations like Vaidya (Physician), Purohita (Astrologer), Nabita (Barbar), Bestha (Fishing), Yadha (Hunting) Dannikas (Corndealers) - The Sumati Sataka Kartha of the fifteenth century describes the village which one could choose to reside at

" Appicchuvadu Vaidyudu
Nedathegaka Parunerunu Dvijudu
Joppadina Yura nundumu
Joppadakunna Yura Jorakumu Sumathi"[62]

DIAMOND MINING :

Of the minerals by far the most important were

58. *M.MSS.Mnt 160-10 Attavana Vyavahara Tantram.*

59. *59. S.I.I. IX - II 513 Dt. 1521 AD.*

60. *M.E.R. 41, 46/1919 Markapur grants reveal the gifts of salt pans to a temple.*

61. *M.MSS.Mnt 160-10. Attavana Vyavahara Tantram.*

62. *Sumati Satakam by Baddena.*

diamonds and other precious stones. The diamond mines were the most important as they attracted world markets. Brihatsamhita gives a long list of gems - Vajra (Diamond), Indranila (Supphirs), Kakavara (Ahgata), Opadmaraga (Ruby), Rudhirakjshya (Blood Stone), Vaidurya (Beryl), Pulaka (Amethyst), Vimalaka (Royal gem), Rajamani (Quartz), Sphatika (Crystal) Sasikanta (Moon Gem,), Saugandhika, Gomeda (Opal) Sankha (Cranch), Mahanila (Azure Stone), Puspharaga (Topaz), Brahmagem, Jyothiresa, Sasyaha, Mukta (Pearl), Praval (Coral).[63] Watt says India was for a long time the only source of diamond known to European nations.[64] Kautilya says that Diamonds and precious stones were available in plenty in South.[65] The Telugu literature of the period describes the nine varieties of gems - Navarathna. The variety of metals; precious and semi-precious stones and pearls referred to in the literature proved that science of mineralogy and metallurgy and gem industry reached a high level.[66] In Rayalaseema, Vajrakarur, Ramallakota and Munimadugu and its surroundings were famous for diamond mines.[67] As in the ancient times diamond mines in the medieval period also was considered to be Royal monopoly. There was Vajra Bhandara appointed

63. Brihat Samhit. asquoted in Economic History of Deccan by D.R.Das P. 160.

64. Watt.

65. Kautilya Arthasastra Syamasastra Syamasastry Edn. BK VIIICh (xiii) P. [illegible]

66. K.A.N. Sastry 'History of south India'

67. S.I.I. IX-II 544 Gadekallu; M.MSS. Kaifiet of Munimadugu.

over the diamond mines of Vajrakarur.[68] This speaks of the royal authority over the mines. According to Nuniz the diamond mines were farmed out on condition that all the stones above twenty mangelins in weight - about 25 carats were sent to the Raya of Vijayanagara for his personal use.[69] The rich merchants of Gujarath thronged around the mines for the purchase of diamonds.[70] The Ramallakota diamond mine was visited by Tavernier, a French Traveller who gave a vivid description of the working of diamond mines.[71] According to him Ramallakota mines were famous for the last 200 years. The Gujarath merchants residing at Ramallakota used to buy diamonds excavated at Munimadugu mines which came to lime-light during the sixteenth century.[72] The Gandikota rulers took up the management of mining operation there.[73] The contemporary travellers like Abdul Razaak[74], Nuniz[75], Barbosa[76] etc., extolled the diamond markets and the fascination of the people for the gold ornaments incised with varieties of

68. Ibid.

69. F.E. APP. P. 377

70. M.MSS Kaifiet of Munimadugu.

71. Tavernier 'Travels in India' V. Ball II Ch. XV P. 53.

72. M.MSS. Kaifiet of Munimadugu.

73. Ibid.

74. Major : Abdul Razzak. P. 26.

75. F.E. APP. P. 377

76. Ibid. barbosa P. 125.

precious and semi-precious stones.

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY :

Iron and steel industry was flourishing in the river valleys as a large scale industry during this period. In the river valleys of Krishna, Tungabhadra and in Yerramala hills the Hematite Iron Ore occurs in huge amounts.[77] Pedda Kolumula, Kolumula Palle and Kolimigundla were some of the famous centres.[78] These centres got their names on account of the large furnaces or Kolumulu established for making iron. The forests situated nearby supplied the necessary charcoal. Near Kolumulapalle there was Boggupalle. The site of Boggupalle was famous for charcoal.[79] Near Chabali there were iron mines. At Dachapalle mining was a flourishing industry. There were kilans to extract iron.[80]

Rayalaseema contributed much for the development of iron and steel industry as the "Art of smelting iron reach such a high level in India that Greek chemical treatise bears the title on tempering steel."[81] and Eridrish remarks" the Hindus excel in the manufacture of iron. They have also

77. Deepak Ranjan Das 'Economic History of Deccan' P. 159.

78. M.MSS. Mnt. 139 Kolumulapalle P. 206.

79. Ibid.

80. L.T.S. VOL. 126 Chabili Vol 350 Dachepalle.

81. Dipak Ranjan Das 'Economic History of Deccan' P. 159.

workshops where in are forged the famous sabres in the world. It is impossible to find anything to surpass the edge that you get from Indian steel."[82]

THE CRAFT GUILDS - THEIR CORPORATE ACTIVITIES :

The existence of the craft guilds in Vijayanagara is attested by the evidence of Abdul Razaak, the earliest of the foreign writers, who left behind him an account of the guilds :" the each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other."[82a]

The craft guilds had been developed into a deciding factor in the society and in the state politics. The Vijayanagara rulers were the defenders of the traditions and customs. They enforced strict rules for the maintenance of Kuladharma and Vritti dharma in accordance with dharma Sastras. It is worth while to note that stories of legendary origin of industrial communities were coined during this period. The panchanamvaru traced their ancestors to the five sons of Viswakarma - the first son of Manu worked on iron, Maya on wood, third son Tvastra in brass, copper and alloys, fourth son Silpi in stone and fifth son Visvajna was a gold and silver smith and Jeweller.[83] The Thogatas traced

82. Ibid.

82 a F.E. Sewell Ch. VII P. 88.

83 Comaraswamy : The Indian Crafts .

their origin to the heroes, born out from homagundam.[84] Jandra or Devanga another weaver community claimed Devanga an emination from the body of Sadasiva to be their progenitor.[85] Salis had two branches - Desi and Padmasali. Desisalis traced their origin to Pancha Maharshi while Padmasali to Bhavanarishi.[86] Similarly other industrial communities had the stories of the mythical origin of their communities. These stories created a sort of pride in the members, so that they could have an optimistic attitude towards life though they had just an average living. These industrial communities organised guilds to bring out unity and to maintain standards in their industrial products.

According to Manu and Yagnavalkya the violation of agreement entered into a member with the guild or corporation is punishable with confiscation of property and banishments.[87] The guilds received deposits from the members paying regular interests and extending banking facilities. They also undertook welfare activities such as construction of Choultries and assistance to the poor etc.[88]

In Rayalaseema region weaving communities had guilds of their own. Each weaving caste had its own caste

84. Thurston "Castes and Tribes in Southern India" Vol VIII Madras/1909. PP 170-72.

85. Wilson the Mackenzie collection 1 P. 94 - Devanaga Charitra - Palm leaves.

86. C.P. Dt. 1541 A.D. Preserved at Annamacharya Mandapa

87. Vijananesvara - Yajnavalkya Smrits - Mitakshara (tr) Gurpure, Bombay/1920 - Ch. XV-VI 87-92 PP. 329-33.

88. D.N. Jha. Studies in Early Indian Economic History PP. 93 -94.

or craft-guild. Unfortunately Dr. N.V. Ramanayya has misread the contents of the Local Record No.18; Vamanuru and dt. 1536 A.D.; and stated in his famous work "Studies in the History of the third Dynasty of Vijayanagara" that the setties of Yabaiyaru Desala Pekkandru took a decision to contribute the magamas collected on the handloom of the regions mentioned in the inscription taking the meaning of magamas as taxes on handlooms.[89] But actually "Magamas" were the contributions collected for the temples and for the religious causes.[89a] In the regions of Pennambady, Mulkinadu Sakalisima, Avuku, Koilakunta, Peddanandyala and Pulivendulu there were weavers' guilds, no doubt and the Yabaiyaru Desala Pekkandru traded with handloom textiles of these places. The weavers guilds of these places decided in a conference to contribute the magamas collected to the presiding monk of a matha of Srisailam. In 1543 A.D. Chappanna (Yabaiyaru) Desambulangala Saleelu took a decision to contribute Vartans at Ruka per loom and one ruka on marriage to goddess Alimelumangamma per annum. This is also an example of the guild of Salis. It seems that Tallapaka Chinnanna settled a dispute between the salis and Jandras. The decision was in favour of salis. Hence they resolved to pay Varthanas.[90] This unanimous decison of their guild shows the united strength of their organisation. A lithic record of sixteenth century of Cholasamudram containing

89. L.R. 18. Vamnuru P. 63-64 (M.326).

89a. Suryarayandra Nighantuvu Vol V P. 340-41.

90. Cdp. Ins - Chittavelu Talik inscriptions dt. 1543.

the decision of the weavers to pay the tax on their looms for the construction of temple of their Kuladevatha Choudesvaramma.[91] In the same way Kaikkolars of Ambasamudram having constructed the temples of Lakshminarayana Perumal, Bhutavirarama and having also provided the requirements of the temple kitchen obtained the privilege of receiving garlands in the temple as hereditary right with other incidental privileges.[92] This is an example of how the caste-guilds used to obtain the privileges.

The copper plate inscriptions dated 1560 A.D. from Ontimita reveals the nature of communal assemblies and the methods of organisation and their united efforts to pursue their objectives.[93] The inscription began with the prasasti of the Pancanam community and proceeded to say how the pancanam varu of Tirupati, Kalahasti and Chandragiri met at Mukha mandapa of Kalikadevi and made a convention to raise some amount to be paid to one Yellaya of vontimitia who performedvarious assignments of the community meritoriously. It was resolved by the assembly that a ruka on each carpenters bench, on each forge of the smith, on each chisel of a mason and on every marriage occasion should be paid to the said person on condition that he would undertake to serve the community from time to time.

91. I.A. Atp. 167 Cholasamudram.

92. A.S.I.R. 312/1916.

93. L.R. 18CP of Vontimitta Dt. 1560 PP. 40-47

These examples reveal the corporate activities of these castes or craft guilds, and their contribution for the upliftment of the members of their own community.

It may be asserted that by the middle of the sixteenth century the corporate activities of the individual communities wielded much influence on the society. Since some of them-carpenter, Iron smith, Potter etc., belonging to the essential services had their inams reserved in the twelve Ayagars of the village. The Panchanamvaru constructed Palaces decorated them and added grandeur to Rajanagari. In the middle of the fourteenth century the agasalas prepared the royal throne. Therefore Harihararaya I granted them and all the members of Panchanam community the privilege of exemption of taxes on marriages, bullock carts loaded with paddy etc. Similarly Kaikkolars, the weavers were enjoying certain privileges such as tandu and sangu conferred upon them.

The guilds also served as bonds of unity; due to the maintenance of this unity that the Padmasalis could gain the approval of their superiority over jandras in 1541 A.D. Further the guilds acted as welfare centres for the community serving social and religious causes.

We may state the following conclusions from the above study. First, Rayalaseema possessed necessary agricultural and mineral resources to provide a good industrial base to the economy. The strategic place occupied by Rayalaseema further contributed to the progress of

various industries in the region. Secondly, the artisans had formed into caste guilds or craft guilds. There was a link between the caste and the occupation in the industrial production of the period. The emergence of artisan guilds in textile and metal industries not only contributed to cohesion among the various communities but also to the qualitative improvement of each craft. Thirdly, Rayalaseema became a very important region for the production of cotton and silk textiles. Even today centres like Dharmavaram have retained their reputation for the production of textiles. The evidence suggests that Kaikkolars were producing cloths of high quality. Fourthly, the Panchalas or the artisans engaged in metal work emerged as a distinct class set apart from artisans who were engaged in carpentry, and black smithy. The emergence of temples in the area and the demands of the mobility probably acted as incentives for the prominence of Panchalas in the industrial set up of Rayalaseema. Some of the inscriptions even suggest the mythological origin and virtuous qualities of the artisan class. Lastly, in the rural areas certain industries like carpentry, blacksmithy and pottery making catered to the rural economy. They maintained a close relationship with the Reddy and Kamma farmers in the villages of Rayalaseema. On the whole it may be pointed out that Rayalaseema appears to have attained self-sufficiency in the field of industrial production. But without a market and without the existence of an active and enterprising adventurous merchant class, neither agricultural production nor industrial production would have seen the progress as it did in

Rayalaseema during the period of our study. The distributive aspect of economic condition of the region forms a vital element and to that burning problem, we shall focus our attention.

CHAPTER VII

COMMERCE, COINAGE AND TRANSPORT

In the economic set up of Rayalaseema, a large number of people had settled in rural areas. Although village was largely self-sufficient, a wide and receptive market existed for agricultural and non-agricultural products. It may be pointd out that commercial activities in Rayalaseema underwent a change during the Vijayanagara period and the change was due to the development of the money economy, the production of cash crops like cotton, sugarcane, indigo on a large scale and the advent of Europeans on the west and east coast of the Vijayanagara Empire. All these facilitated the growth of wide markets.

In addtion to this, local markets furnished the main opportunity for exchange of products between peasants and merchants. Both epigraphical and literary sources support this fact. The active commercial transactions had contributed to the flow of cash money into the villages of Rayalaseema as proved by the inscriptions. From this it appears that the producing classes like Reddies, Kammas, Sales, Thogatas,

Devangas and Kaikkolars had enough money to be able to pay land revenue and taxes to the Government and rent to the landlords in cash. It also helped them to pay for their supply of salt, sophisticated textiles, the traditional gold ornaments and such other articles which could not be produced in the Palli settlements of Rayalaseema. Above all, commerce was acting as an effective link between different political regions in the Empire in general and Rayalaseema in particular.

It is clear from the above that any serious study of the economic conditions in Rayalaseema during the period under review should include the following aspects (1) Institutional frame work (2) the role of the merchant communities (3) the transit duties levied on goods transported between two markets (4) Coinage, Weights and measures (5) Transportation. Now we shall discuss these aspects one after the other.

As far as the institutional frame work is concerned, it is necessary to state the formation and organization of Santalu or weekly fairs in the rural areas. In addition to the epigraphical evidence from Rayalaseema, the evidence from neighbouring Kannada districts also throw light on this important institution during the Vijayanagara period. As a counterpart of Santalu in rural areas, Petas or Bazaars existed in urban areas. Vijayanagara city itself was a big bazaar where merchants from various linguistic provinces including Rayalaseema gathered for larger transactions. First we shall discuss the role of Santalu in the internal

commercial set-up of Rayalaseema.

SANTALU :

The Santalu or fairs were the main channel of internal trade. A Santa was a centre for the coming together of many sellers and buyers in a defenite place and on a definite day every week. It was thus an important business centre. The towns where Santalu were held provided merchants and peasants with certain conveniences such as good roads and plenty of water. Expences concerning the Santa were met through duties, which were imposed in cash or kind on goods on arrival or in some cases on goods sold and brought. The merchants paid these tolls. Peasants and merchants jointly gave lands and certain duties as rewards, to the persons for such work and also as a provision for expenses. Occasionally a piece of land was given to the head of the merchant guild so that he might establish a Santa. The market place was called Peta, Santa or Santapeta. Santalu were also started or revived by the Chief (Reddy) of the Nadu and also by orders of the provisional Governors or a Minister himself revived an old merket. N. Venkataramanayya rightly points out that "every big village seems to have had a fair of its own to which flocked the men and women of the neighbourhood for purchasing articles of domestic consumption and probably for marketing what they had produced"[1].

1. N. Venkataramanayya : 'Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara' P. 213

There are many inscriptions from Rayalaseema to show how the local rulers used to organize and encourage weekly fairs at the centres in a group of villages[2]. In 1515 A.D. Avasaram Timmarasa the Parupatyagaru, made arrangements for holding weekly markets or Santalu by giving exemptions from collection of taxes from the merchants for six months[3]. Chalumula Virabalaaja merchants dealing food grain trade had established weekly fairs or Santalu in some of the towns like Gooty, Penukonda, Adavani, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, etc[4]. The taxes or tolls collected were also given as gifts to the dieties. An inscription at Gorrepalle dt. 1613 A.D.[5] and another at Lepakshi in the same year[6] tells us the organizers of the fairs gave the tax collections to Gods with the consent of the merchants' guild.

The author of Hamsavimsati, a work of eighteenth century gives a long list of famous towns for weekly markets or Santalu. Among them the following places in Rayalaseema found place - Raydurgam, Tadipatri, Nandyala, Siruvella, Nandavaram, Vempalli, Racharla, Kandanavolu, Cuddapah, Siddavatam, Gandikota, Puttur, Munimadugu,

2. *Ibid. PP 300-1*

3. *Cdp. Ins. Gandikota Kaifiet of Talamanchipatnam P. 34*

4. *E.C. V Bl Text P. 21*

5. *T.I. (Ap) 57 Gorrepalli.*

6. *Ibid 77 Lepakshi.*

Cumbum, Chintagunta, Kambadur, Kadiri, Kutagulla, Ramallakota, Banaganipalli, Ouku, Nosum, Kottakota, Punganur, Kautalam, Peravali, Chittoor, Palvayi, Tirupati, Kalahasti, Tirumala, Pakala, Ramapuram, Kondapuram, Velugodu, Tangilla, Markapuram etc.[7]

The evidence form the neighbourning Kannada districts of Rayalaseema belonging to Vijayanagara period further throw light on the formation of Snatalu.

In A.D. 1362 all the farmers and other public of Kayivaranadu, all the Nanadesis Pekkandru and the 18 castes established a fair (Santa) at Kayivara and appointed Peria Nayana as Pattanasvami[8]. In this instance a big assembly established it. In A.D. 1378, the Sadalinadu gaudas established a santa at Rameswara village in Sadalinadu and made certain regulations. Grain entering the fair wholesale, was to be free of all dues for one year[9]. In A.D. 1418, at the instance of Chikkamuddanayaka, the chief of the Hemmadinadu, Ballegavunda started a fair[10].

According to an inscription dt. A.D. 1531 from Sidlaghatta Garbhasarumahapatra granted to one Timmapa, the Basavapattana village as an Umbali-Manya for the

7. H.V.V. 35 00 322-24.

8. KSS. S. Agr. Syt. Kar P. 97 ECX. Ct. 95

9. Ibid : Sd. 112

10. Ibid : MAR 1925 No. 99

Santha (or weekly fair)[11]. This is also an example of how a village could be converted into lower by instituting a fair.

The Belur inscriptions of A.D. 1382 gives a list of twenty seven towns which had fairs established by Salumule Banajiga merchants namely Vijayanagari, Hastinavati, Dorasamudra, Gutti, Penukonda, Adavani, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Mulavayi, Kanchi, Padevidu, Chadurangapattana, Mangaluru, Barakuru, Honnavara, Chandravar, Arage, Chandragutti, Annigere, Huligere, Nidugallu, Chimatankallu, Tariyakallu, Anevidda-Sari, Kalneya Telakalambi and Srirangapattana[12]. In the above list we come across trading centres of Rayalaseema mainly Gutti, Penukonda, Adavani, Chandragiri, etc., In these towns, of Rayalaseema agricultural products like paddy, jowar, ragi barly, bargu, save, wheat, kadale, sesame, agase, kusuma, greengram blackgram, tagari, huruvalli, rice, sugar, oil ghee, salt, jaggery, arecanut, betal leaves, pepper, arisina, onion, jilakara, menthiya, dayam, sobbasige, musterd, sugarcane were collected and distributed. Thus exchange of goods on a large scale were carried on in the Santalu. The peasants from surrounding country side saw men from far off places in Rayalaseema and outside in strange dresses selling cloths, grains, spices and perfumes. Santalu provided an opportunity for them to hear events which were taking place far away from their village. Such Santalu provided almost

11. KSS. Agr. syt. Kar. P. 97., E.C.X., Si 22

12. Ibid; EC V B1 - 75

the only opportunity to Telugu people of Rayalaseema to buy goods not available in their immediate neighbourhood.

BAZAARS OR PETAS :

Next to Santalu, Bazaar or peta at a higher level acted as bigger markets for products of all kinds. Such petas existed in larger towns of Rayalaseema namely Penukonda, Gutti, Adavani, Chandragiri, Bukkapatnam, Dharmavarm, etc. Such trading centres had what was known as Santapeta. The capital of the empire namely Vijayanagara City was big trading centre and a hub of commercial activities for Rayalaseema as well as for Karnataka. Foreign travellers have left a graphic picture of the Vijayanagara Bazaar in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It appears that the layout of a Bazaar in the capital city existed in a similar way in other commercial centres of Rayalaseema.

Foreign travellers from Russia, Persia, Italy and Portugal in the 15th Century have given an account of the Bazaar in Vijayanagara[13]. According to Paes "in this city you will find men belong to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has"[14].

TRADING COMMUNITIES :

Santalu, Peta, Santapeta and Bazaars were

13. F.E. Sewell : PP. 80, 88, 247, 248, 356

14. Ibid. P.

established, organized and controlled by several trading Communities of Rayalaseema. Among them mention may be made of Vysyas or Komatis and Virabalanjas or Ubhayananadesi Chalumulabalijas. It is interesting to note that Rayalaseema and bordering Karnataka areas had similar trading communities. Hence the evidence from Karnataka supplements the information gathered from Telugu sources belonging to Rayalaseema. The most frequent referance is made of the banajigas which probably consisted of several sub-castes. The trading centres were controlled by balajas both in Rayalaseema and Karnataka. The most frequent reference is made of the banajuvattanas. Now we shall examine the meaning and origin of the balanja in the empire-Vijayanagaa period and later on describe the role of Chalumula balanjas of Rayalaseema who were known as Salumule banajigas of Karnataka.

The word 'Balanja" or Banajiga'is derived from Sanskrit word vanik signifying tradesmen. However, different derivations are given to the word 'Balija' or Baliga. Some say it means 'Born of Bali on sacrifice as their progenition was born in the course of the Yagna performed by Gauri, consort of Lord Siva. Others say that they were descendants of Balarama, the brother of Sri Krishna. Hence they are known as Balajas. The third expalantion is that they were the descendants of King of Magdha country, called Bali, Baliji one Sudhakara who lived between 32 B.C. to 8 A.D.[15] The

15. *The Mysore Tribes and Castes' Vol II PP. 99-100.*

Traditional belief that the Balajis were the descendants of Balarama brother of Ḳrishna is supported by the Belur inscription where in it is claimed that the Banajigas were "born in the great and famous line of Baladeva"[16]. But they also claimed that descent from Vasudeva and Malabhadra[17]. This indicates that Balajas were formerly worshipping Vaishnava Gods and in course of time accepted Saivisam. They were the worshippers of Ganesvara and Gavaresvara which signify that they were saivas[18]. R.S. Panchamukhi is of the opinion that the Virabalajis were jains. But it is difficult to accept his opinion.

In the course of evolution of these trading communities various subcastes came into existence. Many of these sub castes of Balajas specialised in different aspects of trade. They spoke mostly Telugu language but many of them could speak Tamil and Kannada also. Among the various sub-castes of Balajas, the following are the most important.They are :

(1) Dasu Balaja, (2) Akula Balaja or Thota Balaja, (3) Dudi Balaja, (4) Gazula Balaja or Setti Balaja, (5) Puvula Balaja, (6) Nayudu Balaja, (7) Sukhamanchi Balaja, (8) Judipalli Balaja (9) Rajamahendram or Musu Kamma, (10) Uppu Balaja, (11) Gouni Balaja, (12) Ralla

16. *E.C. V. Bl. 75 1382 A.D.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

(13) Ravut, Rahutar Balaja (14) Munnumorpusa (tel) or Munnuru Kapu.

Dasu Balija are found in large number in Channapatna and in Rayalaseema also. Akula Balajas as their name implies are betel growers. Dudi or Cotton Balajas are traders in cotton. The Gazulu or the glass bangles section also known as Setti Balajas, they are the dealers in glass bangles and are at the head of the 18 Phanas. Setti is the title applied to persons of this section. Puvvulu or flower sellers, are also said to be belonging to Gazulu division. The Nayudu division is said to be the same as Kota division referred above. The Jidipalli and Rajamahendram originated from the districts of Nellore, Cuddaph, Anantapur, North-Arcot, and Changalpat. The Ravut are a small section living especially in the town of Mysore. They are also known as Oppana banajigas because they are said to have been sent into the Mysore country from Vijayanagara to collect the tribute due to that King, Oppanna meaning appointment. They were all soldiers and were hence known as Ravuts[19].

Chalumula Balijas or Salumule Banajigas appear to have been prominent in Rayalaseema as well as in Karnataka in the commercial activities of the period under

19. *For further discussion see Gururachar : Social and Economic Condtions in Medieval Karnataka.*

review. Inscriptions of Rayalaseema as well as Karnataka provided details concerning their activities as well as organization. Hence a comparitive study of the evidences would be supplementary to each other.

Very interesting information is available in the inscriptions of the period. The most outstnding inscription on the subject comes from the reign of Harihara II and the inscritpion was discovered in Belur, Hassan district and dated 1382 A.D. The Belur inscription of Harihara II states that a big assembly of Salu-mula Banajiga merchants various sects depending on them, the Holiyas, Nakara parivaras, Mummurigandas, Pattana-Settis, Billas and others was held at the capital city of Vijayanagara Government, by name Muddaya Dannayaka. The purpose of the assembly was to determine the rates of duties to be collected and paid by the Salumule Banajigas to the Vijayanagara Government[20]. After a prolonged discussions, the Salu-mule Banajigas entered an agreement as to the duties they would pay, detailed at great length, on drugs, piece-goods, grains, animals and prostitutes or female slaves. They conferred the title of Prittivisettitana or Mayoralty the highest official in the tax-department.

Epigraphical evidence from Rayalaseema also throw light on Vira-Balaja and the details of their activities are given here under :

20. 20. E.C. V. Bl. 75

Vira-balajas blieved that they were descendants of Vasudeva and that one of their primary duties was to preseve the tenets of Vira Balaja Dharma[21]. From their title 'Ubhayananadesi Ayyavali' it can be inferred that they had a strong belief that their original place was Aihole[22]. Occasionally they were also described as "Ubhayanaradesi Mukhyamayina Chalumula Pekkandru[23]. That means some of them engaged in foreign trade also. Thus their rise in Rayalaseema was a coincidence with the growth of trade and growth commerce. Despite the incessant wars of the Rayas of Vijayanagara with the neighbouring Muslim states and changes in the ruling dynasties trade and commerce seem to have in a flourishing condition without any interruption during this period in Rayalaseema. The valuable gifts made by the merchants and the members of their families in favour of religious establishments would not have been possible had they not been prosperous during this peiod. The following were the examples of their benevolence. The Vira Balanja merchant guild of Tripurantakam gave the gift of Uramada and Mulavisa to the God Tripurantakesvara in 1387 A.D.[24] The Vira Balaja merchants of Bukkapatnam in 1430 A.D. gave a gift of land to the deity Veerabhadra and also certain duties on

22. L.K. 55. Siruvella (Knl) P. 286; L.R. 37 Nittur (Cdp) P. 313.

23. I.A.P. Cdp. II - 109 Animela.

24. T.I. (Knl) 367 Tripurantakam.

some commodities to the God[25]. The three inscriptions all dated 1531 A.D. at Animala contained the lavish gifts consisting of toll incomes on the articles passing through the Pulivendula Kanuma, Chintakanuma and Gundi Kanuma and Pendlimarri to the God Veerabhadra of Animela[26].

The Vysya merchants too used to spend a part of their income on religious institutions, Mallu, a Vyvahara merchant of Kotanellore constructed a fort to the temple at Lebaka village in 1413 A.D.[27] Vysyas were also busy in carrying out the internal trade as attested by the inscriptions regarding the gifts of these merchants in places like Undavalli in Guntur district[28] and Ahobilam in Kurnool district[29] and Tirumala in Chittoor district[30].

MERCHANT GUILDS :

These merchant guilds too received patronage from the Rayas, the upholders of the traditions. The members of the merchant class were enterprising, wielding enarmous influence in the society because of their tradition as

25. M.MSS. 15-3-60 Folio 7A LR 50, Bukkapatna P. 35 LR. 37 Bukkapatna P. 116.

26. ARSE P.I. 1PP 200 Animela (Cdp); Ibid 201; Ibid; 202.

27. I.A.P. (Cdp) II 3 Lebaka P. 40.

28. A.R.E. / 1915 - II Para II.

29. T.I. (Knl) 581, Ahobilum.

30. I.A. Ctr. 38.

Vyavaharikas[31] and Pattana Svamis[32] Domigo Paes praised the guilds as "the Institutions like confraternities. You know in our parts of all crafts and merchants"[33]. They used to take suitable measures for the safety of transport on high roads. They appointed their own men as Kavaligars in addition to Royal Kavaligars. They used to come to an agreement with the official Kavaligars[34]. In Amuktamalyada, there was a description of how high-way men robbed a caravan[35]. The guilds collected tolls and paid to the Kavalgars[36]. At the important points in Kanumas and in forests, the state appointed the Kavaligars. In 1516 A.d. Kampali Pedda Nayudu was appointed as Kavalgar over Mallela Samuta[37]. At the time of Sadasiva Raya Lakki Nayudu was granted the right of policing fourteen villages included in Utukuru Sthala[38]. Pedda Buchi Nayudu of Guriginjakonda was given Kavali rights over Vippapenta sima[39]. There was also a higher cader of Kavalgars. Mahipati

31. I.A.P. (Cdp) II 35. Lebaka P. 40

32. S.I.I. IX 537; ARIE / 1922 - 681.

33. F.E. Paes P. 247.

34. l.r. 48. P. 247.

35. A.M. VII : 17 to 21 Poems.

36. N.V.R. : A Study of the History of II Denasty of Vijayanagara : P. 309

37. M.E.R. 9/1912 -13.

38. L.R. 14 Kampelle PP. 404-514.

39. L.R. 18 Cintarajupeta PP. 407-9.

Yerra held Kavali rights over several Simas or Samutas[40]. He belonged to the higher cadre of police official. Merchants of fifty-six contries entered into an agreement with Pedda Chennama Nayudu a Palegar[41]. Suka Saptati, a poetical work of the eighteenth century alludes to the petrolling duties of the streets with torches[42]. There was a reference of the death of reddy family while defending balanja merchants against the robbers near the pass of Rollamadugu[43]. It is mentioned in Rayarekha that dannikas were commanded to report on the internal condition of rajyas whether police arrangements and frotifications were in perfect order[44]. Nuniz also states "if he (a person who suffered wrong) complains that he was robbed in such and safer road, the king sends immediately for the captain of that province even though he be at the court and the captain may be seized and his property taken if he does not catch the thief"[45]. The guilds gave gifts of income from the tolls or duties on the articles in transport to the God of local temple. There are many epigraphs to be found in Rayalaseema to attest this[46]. The Virabalinjas felt pride about their pedigree. They described

40. M.E.R. 10/1912-33

41. L.R. 48. P. 348.

42. S.S.2 : 485-94

43. l.r. 48 : Rollamadugu P. 314-50

44. Rayavachakam. P. 21.

45. F.E. Nuniz P. 361.

46. S.I.I. II Pailabanda, I.A. Atp. 312. Hemavati.

themselves with the titles like Chalumula Samasta Pekkandru Nanadesi Yabayyaru Desala Pekkandru[47]. Most probabaly they had separate guilds in each important town as it could be inferred from a letter which the several Ayyavaly Chalumulas of Yadiki addressed to the several Ayyavale Chalumulas of Tadipatri[48]. Each guild of a town had a president called Pattanasvami who was also an executive officer. They usually held their general body meeting in a Mukhamandapah (front hall) of a temple[49]. The full insignia of a guild was paraded specially the diamond baisangi, without which no meeting or the guild was valid[50]. The Merchant guild had some powers of taxation or collection of duties on the goods transported or imported as it assumed the responsibility of remitting taxes due to the Government from its members[51]. The guild also tried petty criminal and civil cases with the consent of the Governor the guild could also get the assistance of Vidvan Mahajanas of an agrahara for trial and disposal of cases or civil suits[52]. There were Vyavahara merchants welversed in the Dharma Sastras.[53] The Vysya merchants too had their

47. I.A.P. Cdp. 109 Animela.

48. L.R. Nittor P. 37.

49. Fleet; Sankrit and old canares. Inscriptional Ind. ant. V.P. 342. N.V.R.; Studies in II Dynasty of Vijayanagra Empire Ch. X.P. 309.

50. S.I.I. IX-II 516 Velpumadugu P. 539.

51. S.I.I. IX-II 516 Velpumadugu P. 51.

52. S.I.I. II 24. Kadiri.

53. Ibid.

own guild. An inscription from Ahobilam refers to the grant made for the temple by the merchant devotees of Vasavi Kanya for the merit of their headmen numbering one hundred and fifty[54]. An inscription from Siddavatam taluk refers to the donation of taxes collected to the deity by the agent of the Minister with the consent of Ayyavalu Samasta Pekkandru[55]. The guilds also could organize new markets and weekly Santas. At Velpumadugu (Velupudigu) a new market was opened and the guilds fixed the rates of taxes to be paid by the venders at the market[56]. The revenue from tolls and other taxes collected on every Friday at Lakhanapura Santa was given as gift by the Settis and Pattana Svamis for the service of Goddess Mahalakshmi[57] and the gift of tolls collected by the merchants at the fair held on every Sunday at Vireswaradevapura the hamlet of Lepakshi to the gods for oblation to be offered in the shrines[58]. The trade guilds improved the internal trades and commerce. They also served the public by extending banking facilities since all the guilds were having contacts with one another[59]. The guilds also received deposits on the condition

54. T.I. (Knl) Ahobilam. 581.

55. I.A. Cdp. 503 Virur;

56. S.I.I. IX-II Velpumadugu. 516

57. I.A. (Atp)181, Gorrepalli.

58. Ibid.

59. Dipak Ranjan Das "Economic History of the Deccan" P. 121.

of paying interest regularly[60]. The guilds also took community welfare activities by constructing choultries and extending financial help to the poor etc.,[61]

TRADING CENTRES - COMMODITIES OF TRADE :

As a result of the enterprising activities of Chalumula nanadesi Virabalajas, Komaties and Settis the internal Trade in Rayalaseema was in a flourishing condition. The following list shows the trading centres and articles which entered trade of the region[62].

Place	Goods
Adavani	Cotton
Dharmavaram	Oil, Ghee and Tobacco
Tadipatri and	Cotton Cloth, Silk Fabrics
Gooty	Pulses
Rollamadugu	Perikas of Rasavargas and Bales of Cotton.
Bukkapattanam	Perikas of Pepper, Jaggery, Pulses, Cholam, Nuts, Fruits,

60. *Ibid. P. 10 " The inscription show that guild received deposits of public money on the condition of paying regular interest on them on permanent basis".*

61. *Ibid. P. 211. "The guilds extending banking facilities to the public throught the country were evidentally well organised besides professional business and function as bank the activities of the guilds was also extended to a number of Public utility services".*

62. *M.MSS 160-10 (15.6.8) LR 48, P. 341, LR 37 P. 116 L.R. 14 P 415. LR. 7. P. 77 LR. 42. 78; LR 18 P. 407. LR. 5 PP. 78-79.*

	Vegetables - baskets and Bales of Silk.
Animela	Bales of Cotton, Perikas of Rasavargas, Nuts, Pepper, Jaggery, Yarn, Cloth, Cloaks, Rice, Cholam, Ragi etc.,
Udayagiri	Various kinds of grain, Rasavargas, Ghee, Sugar, Oil, Perfumes - like Sandal, Camphor, Musk, Pilli Roots, etc.,
Dasaripalli	Perikas of nuts, Sugar, Rasavargas, Cloth etc.

In addition to this, towns like Gutti, Penukonda, Chandragiri, Adavani, Udayagiri had become famous for trade in agricultural commodities such as grains of different kinds and pulses etc[63]. Jammalamadugu, Tadipatri Dharmavaram Alavakonda, Adavani and Gutti were centres for cloth production[64]. Dharmavaram, Gutti and Rayadurga had become famous for silk products[65]. Vajrakarur, Ramallakota and Munimadugu had attracted both inland and foreign merchants[66].

63. .MSS. 15-6-8.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

FOREIGN TRADE :

The study of the commercial activities of the merchant communities involves analysis of commodities and the merchant groups which were engaged in foreign trade. Since the Portuguese played a very important role in the foreign trade of the period, it is necessary to briefly state their contributions. It appears that trading centres in Bellary, Anantapur, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Kurnool had maintained contacts with the portuguese merchants, Rayalaseema certainly produced articles for international commerce. For example, Diamond mines existed in the region. The foreign travellers-cum-traders like Tavernier, the French traveller, visited the Diamond mine at Ramallakota during the early decades of the seventeenth century.[67] The commodities required for foreign trade were exported to the capital, Vijayanagara for onward transit.[68] But there were Telugu merchants who used to import valuable articles from very distant countries both by land and sea. Avachi Thippayya Setti of Simhavikrama Patnam imported Camphor plates from Punjab, Gold from Jalanogi, Elephants from Ceylon, Musks from Chotange, and fine silk from China for supplying them to the Kings like Harihara and Gajapathy.[69]

The evidence noted above clearly indicates that

67. Tavernier : "Travells in India' BK. II Ch. XV P. 35

68. F.E. Sasette P. 202.

69. Srinatha Harivamsam V P. 3.

though Rayalaseema was a land-locked region in the Vijayanagara Empire, as a political unit in the total structures it shared the prospertity of overseas trade which was dominated by the Portuguese.

The Commercial History of South India attained a new phase with the coming of the Portuguese to the country at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the establishment of their settlements at places like Goa and Diu. They practically drove out of the markets, the Arabs, who had a monopoly of the trade in horse in South India till then. They gradually became masters of the trade of the coast to the exclusion of the Arabs and moplahs and collected a kind of tribute in grain from all the ports on the west coast. The political stability provided by the Vijayanagara Government contributed to the increase of commercial and political adventures of the Portuguese, Goa, Diu and Daman became significant. In Bhatkal, Mangalore, Basrur and Karwar they intensified their commercial activities. The advent of the portuguese also marked the decline of Arab influence. Horse trade became effective link between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese. However, the historic battle of Talikota affected their commercial prospects. Afterwards, new political and economic forces emerged in South-India. In short, the role of Portuguese in the coastal trade of the empire was significant as along as the Vijayanagara empire was stable and powerful. Rayalaseema had certainly a share in this porsperous and active foreign trade.

EXPORTS:

Now we may briefly state the export and import of various goods in Rayalaseema as depicted in sources. The Chief commodities exported from Rayalaseema were Rice, Sugar, Cotton, Silk Fabrics and Diamonds.[70] Cotton, which was grown in plenty around Adavani was exported to Kolar and Siddanaghatta.[71] The oil, ghee, tobacco, available in plenty at Dharmavaram, Tadipatri, Adavani, Gutti etc., were exported to the capital city of Vijayanagara and thence to foreign lands.[72] The black gram was grown at Dharmavaram, Tadipatri, Adavani and Gutti. It was exported to Vijayanagara.[73] The Diamonds from Vajrakarur, Ramallakota and Munimadugu were exported through Gujarat merchants who stationed there for the purpose.[74] Vijayanagara, the capital city became the centre for Diamond trade.[75] The iron and steel sickles, knives and swords were the main articles manufactured in Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts. They were exported to foreign markets.[76]

70. M.MSS. 15-6-8.

71. M.MSS. 160-10 : Attavana Vyavahara Tantram P. 327

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. M MSS. Kaifiet of Munimadugu.

75. F.E. Abdul Razzak P. 88.

76 M MSS. 139-4. 5 Kolumukapalli. P. 206. L.T. Vol I. 126 Chabili P. 196.

IMPORTS:

Amuktamalyada mentions horses, elephants, precious stones, sandals and pearls that were imported in the ports of Vijayanagara Kingdom.[77] According to the Attavana-Vyavahara Tantra, the principal commodities imported were glass, broadcloth, indigo, lead, nutmeg. mace, silk, China, Sugar, demask, Camphor, quick silver and cloves.[78] The Rayas, according to Amuktamalyada, especially Sri Krishnadevaraya gave special concession to the merchants who imported horses and elephants.[79] Avachi Tippaya Setti of Simhavikramapatnam used to import valuable articles from distant countries both by land and by sea. He is said to have imported Camphor from Punjab, Gold from Jalanogi, elephants from Ceylon, horses from Harmuji (Ormuz) musk from Chotangi (Chautang) and fine silk from China.[80]

The contemporary Telugu poet Srinatha described the traders that had come from west wearing the dirty and dusky clothes with unshaven faces and appearing in cruel mood.[81] The Vijayanagara rulers used to notify the rates of import and export duties at the important ports through their

77. *AM. 4 : 258 P. 488*

78. *M.MSS. 160 -10 Attavana Vyavahara Tantram.*

79. *AM. 4-245*

80. *Reddi Sanchika - Avachi Tippaya Setty - Oceanic trade by K.V. Subbarao PP. 193-200.*

81. *Chamatkara Manamanjari Editor V Prabhakara Sastry Srinatha P. 128.*

lithic inscriptions, one such inscription dated 1390 A.D. could be found on the pillar in Veerabhadra temple at Motupalli.[82]

TRANSIT DUTIES:

The expansion of commercial activities in the form of the establishment, organization and maintenance of Santalu, Peta, Santapeta, Banajuvattanas etc. by the trading communities of Rayalaseema like Vysyas, Settis, Veerabanajigas, Chalumula balajas and nanadesis and the advent of the portuguese on the coastal regions of the empire benefited the Vijayanagara government in the form of transit duties which constituted an important source of income. According to Nuniz the city of Nagalapura alone yielded forty-two thousand pagodas of duties for the things which entered into it. He says : "The duties in this land being (are) very great; since nothing comes through the gates that does not pay the duty,. even men and women as well as headloads and all mechandies."[83] if that city alone yielded so much, it is not difficult to imagine the gross collection from this source should have been considerable.

The transit duties were levied on bullocks carrying pepper, arecanut, silk, grain, wood, rice, paddy, ragi, salt, oil, ghee, pulses, jaggery, fruits, coconut, kernels, cotton, clothes, tobacco, cumin seed, mustard seed, onion, garlic, turmeric, ginger and other articles of agriculture. The transit

82. Reddi Sanchika- PP 193-200.

83. F.E. Nuniz P. 345.

duties were also levied on cleaned cotton, ghee, caster oil, iron, steel, chisels, cotton thread, sandal wood, tin and copper.[84]

Lewis Rice divides the transit duties under three different heads : Sthaladayam, Margadayam and mamuladayam. Under the first head came the transit duties on goods imported to be sold at one place : under the second head came the duty levied on goods in transit through a district; and under the third came the duty levied on goods exported to foreign countries. "All kinds of goods even firewood and straw paid these duties excepting glass rings, brass pots and soap balls."[85]

The local records allude to the rates of Sthala Sunkas collected on the articles, that came to the town of Bukkapatnam.[86]

1. Pepper	Per Perika	Ruka 2.
2. Jaggery	-"-	Ruka 2.
3. Anumulu	-"-	Ruka 2.
4. Cholam	-"-	Ruka 1.
5. Arecanut	-"-	Ruka 2.
6. Kayalu	-"-	Ruka 2.
7. Silks	Per bale	Ruka1/4.
8. Vegetables.	Per basket	A handful.

84. *242 of 1892; E.I. VIP. 232.*

85. *Rice Mysore Gazeteer I P. 583.*

86. *L.R. 37 Bukkapatnam P. 116.*

In market places transit duties called peta Sunkas were collected.[87] The Kondavidu record contains the rates of Peta Sunka collected in those days.[88] The following are the details.

No.	Article	Unit Taxed.	Rate.
1.	Great Millet	Per Bag.	1/2 Paika.
2.	Millet.	-"-	-"-
3.	Salt	-"-	-"-
4.	Mangoes.	-"-	-"-
5.	Myrobalan.	--"-	-"-
6.	Fruits.	-"-	-"-
7.	Brinjals	-"-	-"-
8.	Cleaning nuts.	-"-	-"-
9.	Mavine (A fragrant root)	-"-	-"-
10.	Green gram.	-"-	-"-
11.	Black gram.	-"-	-"-
12.	Bengal Gram.	-"-	-"-
13.	Horse Gram.	-"-	-"-
14.	Red gram	-"-	-"-
15.	Wheat.	-"-	-"-
16.	Sesamum seeds.	-"-	-"-
17.	Oil seeds.	-"-	-"-
18.	Black Pulse	-"-	-"-
19.	Anumulu.	-"-	-"-
20.	Cotton.	-"-	-"-
21.	Tamarind.	-"-	-"-

87 *L.R. 13, Markapur No. 7.*

88. *Gurubrahma Sarma : History of Kondavedu. P. 93.*

	Article	Unit Taxed	Rate
22.	Gall nuts.	Per Bag	1 Paikam.
23.	Myrobalan.	-"-	-"-
24.	Yarn.	-"-	-"-
25.	Cama.	-"-	-"-
26.	Kanda.	-"-	-"-
27.	Onion.	-"-	-"-
28.	Turmeric.	-"-	-"-
29.	Dammer.	-"-	-"-
30.	Cumin.	-"-	-"-
31.	Fenugreek.	-"-	-"-
32.	Mustard Seed.	-"-	-"-
33.	New Gunny bags.	Per Salaga	-"-
34.	Green Ginger.	Per bag.	-"-
35.	Lime Fruits.	-"-	-"-
36.	Coconuts.	Per Bag.	1 Damma.
37.	Jaggery.	-"-	2 Dammas.
38.	Cleaned Cotton.	-"-	-"-
39.	Ghee	-"-	-"-
40.	Castor Oil.	-"-	-"-
41.	Sangadinuts.	-"-	-"-
42.	Dry Ginger.	-"-	-"-
43.	Iron.	-"-	-"-
44.	Steel.	-"-	-"-
45.	Chisels.	-"-	-"-
46.	Sugar.	-"-	4 Dammas
47.	Arecanuts.	-"-	-"-
48.	Cotton thread.	-"-	-"-
49.	Betel Leaves.	-"-	-"-

	Article	Unit Taxed	Rate.
50.	Long Pepper.	-"-	-"-
51.	Pepper.	-"-	-"-
52.	Sandal.	-"-	-"-
53.	Cloves.	-"-	-"-
54.	Nutmeg.	-"-	-"-
55.	Mace.	-"-	-"-
56.	Lead.	-"-	-"-
57.	Tin.	-"-	-"-
58.	Coppper.	-"-	-"-
59.	Saris	Double bullock Carts.	1 Tsevela

The transit duties were often farmed out to local persons who paid fixed amount to the Government in return. The rates of duties differed from place to place for the renters "took various measures frequently for increasing the perqusites of their respective chaukis at the expense of others For instance they advanced money to some of the merchants, requiring only one-half of the duty which was paid by others thus encouraging them to come by their Kattes (custom houses), where they paid reduced customs, with a view to inducing others to follow the same route. It is impossible to fix on any certain rate in collecting customs on goods imported when one farmer demanded ten pagodas for 100 loads, another took only two pagodas, and their rates widely differed as collections of the transit duties on different descriptions of goods and trades, paid the amount of the agreed rent to the Sarkar reserving the profits which were more or less considerable according to circum

stances.[89] Nuniz makes a few interesting observations on this system of the farming out of the transit duties. Speaking about a particular gate in Vijayanagara he remarks : "This gate is rented out for 12,000 pagodas each year, and no man can enter it without paying just what the renters ask, country folk as well as strangers. In both these cities there is no provision for merchandise whatever, for all come from outside on pack-oxen, since in this country they always use beasts for burdens; and everyday these enter thorough these gates 2000 oxen and every one of these pays three Vintees except certain polled Oxen and without horns never pay anything in any part of the realm."[90]

From various accounts it seems clear that each village and town had its own system of tolls, and the large cities apparently made quite a large sum of money. Nuniz denotes that Hospet Yielded 42,000 pagodas of duties for things which entered it. One gate of Bisnaga[91] was rented out for 12,000 pagodas each year.

In the commercial expansion and activities, the importance of coinage, weights and measures and means of transport cannot be underestimated. The evidence from all sources indicate that the coined money in circulation was considerable.

89. *Rice. Mys. Gaz. I PP. 583-84.*

90. *F.E. Nuniz, 347*

91. *Nuniz; Ibid.*

COINAGE :

It is evident from the lavish gifts in coins of the Rayas and the merchants to the gods. Krishnadevaraya performed Kanakabhisheka (both of gold) to Sri. Venkateswara of Tirumala with 30,000 varahas besides presenting a crown bedecked with nine kinds of precious stones and several ornaments.[92] A merchant Prince Kalette Setti endowed the temple with a capital of 48,900 panas,[93] another merchant Narayana Setti with 21430 panas[94] and some other person named Sitama Setty with 14,500 panas[95]

It is seen from the Parasara madhaviyam that the King Harihara II issued an order that the tax should be paid in coin instead of in kind.[96] He improved the royal mint house and introduced Devanagari Lipi (script) in the public records and the legends of the Kings on the coins.[97] The legends with the name of the symbols on the obverse of the coins generally were of the religious characters.

Coinage was never a monopoly of a single power though this condition was nearly realised for some time under the control of the state. Every provincial capital had

92. *T.T.D.E. III 32. 60.*

93. *Report on T.T.D.I. Epigraphical Series P. 248.*

94. *T.T.D.I. IV 271.*

95. *Report on the T.T.D.I. Epigraphical Seris P. 248.*

96. *A Catalogue of Vijayanagara coins Andhrapradesh Governement Musem P. 41.*

97. *Ibid.*

its own mint. Even the guilds were empowered to mint money. The existence of a post of controller of taxes on mints, Acchupannaya Adhistayak[98] in Vijayanagara administration proved the continuance of private mint. There are no evidences to prove the Gutti and Penukonda had mint houses, but there was a post of Vajrabhandara at Vajrakarur[99]. According to Barbosa, Vijayanagara coins were "perfectly genuine, not one of them has been found false" and "it (pagaoda) is coined in certain states of Kingdom of Narasinga, throughout India they use this money which passes in all Kingdoms"[100].

The Gadyana which occurs in Telugu and Canarese inscriptions [101] was popularly known as Varaha from Varaha Lanchana of western Chalukyas who first adopted this in their mints[102]. According to Barbosa "it is round and made in a mould"[103]. According to Paes "it bears the impression on it one side and on the other the name of the King who commanded it to be struck"[104]. There were three varities of Varahas - namely Gatti Varaha, Dodda

98. Ibid. P. 51.

99. S.I.I. IX-II 544 Gdekal.

100. 'A catalogue of Vijaydnagara Coins's Barbosa.

101. S.I.I. IX - II 418 Subramanyam (Kukke) South Kanara. Ibid,XVI Ch. Ahobilam.

102. A catalogue of vijayanagars coins P. 48.

103. Ibid Barbosa.

104. A catalogue of Vijayanagara coins of A.P. Government Mus - Paes 49.

Varaha and Sudda Varaha.

As per the epigraphical evidence the ratio between Sudda Varaha and Gatti Varaha was 7 : 5[105] and between Dodda Varaha and Gattivaraha was 7 : 5.25[106]. Pratapa or Kate is a coin next to varaha. It was popularly known as Made or Madai which was half the value of Varaha[107]. It was also known as Katti or the Partab of foreign travellers[108]. But there were many types of Madas in circulation during this period among them Biruda Madas[109] Singayammadas etc[110]. There might be differences in weights of various types of Madas. Accordingly there might have been changes in the value of these coins.

Pana was gold next to Pratapa[111]. Haga was the last grade of gold coins in circulation. It was known as Kakini[112].

Silver Coins : Tara was the only silver coin known of this period[113]. silver was not generally used to coin money.

105 . Ibid. P. 48.

106. Ibid P. 49.

107. Ibid PP. (78-138).

108. Ibid Abdul Razaak.

109. I.A.P. Cdp. II 138, Chidipirala.

110. S.I.I. IX-II 8 Tripurantakam.

111. T.I. Ctr. Narayanavanam.

112. E.I. IX P. 267, Ibid 212, Ind. Ant. X P. 189.

113. A catalogue of Vijayanagar coins of A.P. Government Museum. P. 49.

The statement of Farishta, the contemporary Muslim Historian of Bijapur Court Party holds good[114] and later on the coins of silver appeared in plenty both in North and in South too.

Copper Coins : Copper coins were also issued because of the need of coins of smaller denominations in the local markets. Pana (Copper)[115], Kasu[116], Jital[117] were the copper coins belonging to this period.

Denominations of the coins : According to Abdul Razzak there were three types of gold coins - Varaha weighing about one miskal equal to two Kopaki dinars, the Pratapa equal to half of the first and the panam one tenth of pratapa. Of the silver coins there had been only Tare which was equal to one sixth of the panam. A copper coin Jital valued at one third of the Tare[118].

The weights and denominations of the coins[119] :

Type	Weight in Grams	Exchange Value
Gold : Gadyana/	15.3-53	2 Prataps or

114. Briggs : "Farishta History" P. 395

115. A catalogue of Vijayanagara coins of A.P. Government Museum. PP. 40-51

116. I. Atp. 216. Velamakur.

117. Abdul Razzak : A catalogue of Vijayanagara coins of A.P. Government Museum.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid. Ch. V. Analysis of the coins PP. 78-138.

Varaha/Pagoda/Pon		20 Panas
Pratapa/Mada/Kate	25.8-26.2	10 Panams
Pana/Panam	5.28	4 Hagas
Haga		1/4 of Pana or
		1/40 of Varaha
Silver		
Tara		1/6 Pana

Pana (Copper), Kasu and Jital varied in weights according to local conditions. As there was foreign currency - Dinars, ducats, English Pounds, Goldsmiths acted as the money changers or examiners or bankers. Voscodagama[120]. and Varthema[121] described about how goldsmith used to test the value of gold coins.

Genuiness of Coins : Durate Barbosa paid glowing tribute to the integrity of the Vijayanagara coinage. He said that they were perfectly genuine "not one of them has been found spurious" "throughout India they used this money[122]" and coinage achieved the international standard in weights and pureness". According to Princep "says Panchamukhi, "the Venetian Sequin weighs 52-40 grams the Ducat 53.50 grams and Star Pagoda 52.40 grams. It is interesting to find that Vijayanagara pagoda also weighs between 52.652

120 Voscodagama The Three voyages P. 181

121 Varthema Travels P. 169

122. Barbosa A Catalogue of Vijayanagara coins'

and 52.912grams, the heaviest being that of Sadasivaraya[123]

The artisans, the farmers and the merchants in Rayalaseema paid their taxes in coin as attested by the inscriptions[124].

THE PRICE LEVEL OF THE COMMODITIES :

Paes described Vijayanagara as the best provided city in the world and was stocked with provisions such as Wheat, Jowar or Jonna, Barly, Horse grams and many other such seeds[125]. He gives the prises at which certain commodities are sold. Chicken at 3 for one panam, 4 out side the city. Three bunches of graps cost a panam or a Hana[126]. Nuniz states for a pagoda 12 live sheep, in the hills 14 to 15[127]. Barbosa states that cavalvary man could live in the city with a horse and an attendant on a monthly allowance of 4 to 5 Pratapas in addition to the daily ration drawn from Royal Kitchen for the horse or elephant[128] and Nuniz statment corroborates it[129].

123. *Princep : Useful tables; R.S. Panchamukhi PP. 43-44 Coinage of Vijayanagara Sex Centinary - Coomerce Colume Dharwar / 1936 P. 107.*

124. *S.I.I. IX-II 816 Velpumadugu P. 531.*

125. *F.E. Nuniz P. 256.*

126. *Ibid. PP. 210-11.*

127 *F.E. Nuniz P. 356.*

128. *Barbosa I PP 210-11*

129. *Nuniz F.E. P. 534.*

In Rayalaseema there were many market towns for Agricultural products - the towns of Gutti, Penukonda, Chandragiri, Adavani and Udayagiri were famous for food grains and pulses[130]. The cost of living might be cheaper according to the statements of the contemporary travellers like Paes[131] etc., and the inscriptions containing the lavish gifts and donations given to the deities[132].

WEIGHTS AND MEASURERS :

Existence of standard weights and measures reveal the high level of economic activities. Transactions were made easy and exact as a result of standardized weights and measures. Rice, Paddy, Pulses, Pepper, Oils, Salt, Cardamom, Mustard Seeds, Milk, Curds, Ghee etc., were being sold in measures. Sugar, Jaggery, Turmeric, Tamerind, Cuscus etc., were sold in weights, but the weights adopted for the purchase of Camphor, Saffron and Musk were different and were the same as the jewellery weights[133]. Some materials like Betel leaves and arecanuts were sold in numbers[134]. The lands were purchased in surface measurements.

130. E.C. V Bl. Text P. 21.

131. Paes F.e. P. 248.

132. Epigraphy Rport on T.T.D. PP. 32-41.

133. TKT Veera Raghavacharya's History of Tripati P. 93-4.

134. Ibid.

Measures of weights : For measuring grain, pulses etc.

1 Pagoda weight	=	52 1/4 grain troy
1 Tola	=	180 grain troy
10 Kurrack Pagoda or 3 Tolas	=	1 Pallam
8 Pallams or 24 Tolas	=	1 Puckaseer
5 Seers or 120 Tolas	=	1 Viss.
8 Viss or 960 Tolas	=	1 Maund (100 Ponds of troy)
20 Maunds	=	1 Candy or Putty[135]

Mackenzie local local tracts volume 1 (Agricultural systems in Anantapur. Contains the following table of measure of weights in existence[136].

1 Maund is equal to 48 Kacchaseers.
1/2 Maund is equal to 24 Kacchaseers.
1/4 Maund is equal to 12 Kacchaseers.
Viss is equal to 6 Kacchaseers.

Weights used for the purchase of gold musk etc.,

8 ratis	=	1 Masha
4 Mashas	=	1 Tanka
12 Mashas or 3 tankas	=	1 Tola (180 grains or troy)[137]

135. *N.I. III A.P.P. III P. 1487.*

136. *Mackenze L.T. Vol 151 Anantapur P. 303.*

137. *T.K.T. Raghavacharya's History of Tirupati P. 96.*

Surface measurements - Measures of land.

A detailed discussion on method of survey and on various measuring poles and ropes has been done in Chapter IV. The tables of the measures of land in different localities are given below :

1 Cubit	=	19.68 inches.
32 Cubits	=	1 rod (mesuring pole)
1 rod square	=	2756 1/4 sq. ft. or gunta = 0.0633 acre
50 gunta	=	1 gurtu or gorru = 3.1637 acres[138].

According to Mallana, the author of Sarasangraha Ganitham.

1 sq. Kola	=	1 Kunta.
20 Kuntas	=	1 Tumu.
100 Kuntas	=	1 Putti.

The Units of maruths or nivarthanas were also in use in Rayalaseema[139]. A nivarthana was probably so called because of originally it represented a day's ploughing by a

138. M.I. III A.P.P. III P. 1487.

a). M.MSS 114-3 P. 94.

b). M.MSS. 114-3 Garden cultivation P. 95.

139. S.I.I. XVI 266 Markapur.

team of eight or six Oxen[140].

According to Kautilya,

192 Angulas	=	1 danda
20 dandas	=	1 rajjou
3 Rajjus	=	1 nivarthana[141]

used in measuring such lands as gifted to Bahmanas.

A general table of measures

10 muralu	=	1 Dandam
30 Dandamulu	=	1 Nivarthanamulu[142]
8 Nivarthanams	=	1 Acre.
10 Nivarthanam	=	1 Gocharamu[143]

In western parts of Kurnool district the canarese units of Kolege and Salege were in use[144]. In many parts of Rayalaseema the volumetric measurements were used to denote the extent of land.

Volumetric measurement (measures of capacity) Telugu.

4 Citti = 1 Sola = 70 Tolas of rice heaped.
4 Sola = 1 Munta or 280 tolas or 2 Puckaseers.

140. Dr. Das : Economic History of Deccan, Delhi/69 P. 44.

141. Kautilyas Arthsastra Ch. XX. P. 120

142. A.S.C. P. 97, 98.

143. T.I. (Knl) 68. L.P. 100 of Sewell's List.

144. T.I. Bel. 27, China Hottur, Alur Tq.

4 Munta = 1 Kuncham = 1120 tola or 14 Puckaseers
4 Kuncham = 1 Tum about a hundred weight.
10 Tums = 1 Candy or Putti a Ton[145].

Canarese Volumetric measures :

4 Gidda	=	1 Sollage.
4 sollage	=	1 Manam.
4 Manam	=	1 Ballam
4 ballams	=	1 Kilogram
20 Kilograms	=	1 Khandugam[146].

TRANSPORT :

Transportation helped the expansion of commerce. The Vijayanagara government developed and maintained roads in different parts of Rayalaseema and also in other parts of the empire. Roads were built and maintained properly by the Vijayanagara rulers. The different parts of the empire were connected by roads. As the capital of the empire, the city of Vijayanagara was connected with the different important cities in the empire. One road connected the capital with Goa through Bankapur, forty miles south of Dharwar. Another seems to have run from Bhatkal on the west coast of Vijayanagara through Honnavar, Bankapur, Banavasi and Ranibennur[147]. Another road connected the

145. *N.I. III APP III P. 1487.*

146. *Vyavahara Ganitham by Rajadhitya.*

147. *Sewell : F.E. P. 122; Major : India P. 7; Barbosa II P. 130.*

capital city with Mylapur across Chandragiri, Tirupati and Pulicat[148]. Barbosa makes mention of a trade route running from Vijayanagara to Pulicat[149]. In the south a road connected Kayamkulam and Tirunelveli through the kingdom of Quilon[150]. Sri Krishnadevaraya, one of the greatest monarch of south India followed in his military campaigns and religious tours four major routes : (1) A Highway leading from the capital city of Sivasamudram and Srirangapatnam[151]. (2) Another road from Vijayanagara to Adavani.[152] (3) The third ran from Vijayanagara to Udayagiri, Kondavidu, Kondapalli and along the coast of Simhachalam and Srikurmam[153]. (4) The fourth major road started form Vijayanagara to Kalahasti, Tirupati, Kanchi, Tiruvannamalai, Chidambaram, Madurai, Rameswaram and Dhanushkoti[154].

ROADS :

There is an evidence to prove that the rulers had given atmost attention to maintain good roads. Paes refers to a road from Bhatkal to a town called Zambuja and says that although there were some ranges with forests, the road

148. Della Valle. IP. 266

149. Varthema PP. 179-80

150. Canto II V 96.

151. barbosa I P. 165.

152. Epigraphia Carnatika, Vol XV T. 95.

153. Ibid. Sd. 112.

154. Mysore Archeological Report 1925 No. 99.

was very good[155]. Picto Dello Velle who visited the Empire one century later observes as follows :"the way between Ikkair and Sopar is very handsome, plain, broad almost totally direct here and there be set with great thick trees which make a shadow and the delightful verdure"[156]. Regarding width of the road we have no concrete evidence. Even regarding the total milage of roads we have no means of knowing. Yet we can presume that it is today. Besides it is doubtful whether important roads were metalled and provided with good drainage culverts and bridges. There prevailed a ferry system in the rivers and this points to the conclusion that there were no bridges over them.

Some of the inscriptions state the width of the roads - 10 cubits[157], 4 rods of 18 spans ie., 72 spans[158] and so on. there are references in Kautilya's Arthasastra. Kautilya prefers a trade route of south rather than to a route of the Himalayas because of the availability of other alicles of merchandise such as cronch shells, dimonds, precious stones, pearls and gold[159]. We find references in Arthasastra about two roads - one traverses through a large number of mines which is frequented by the people, the other by taking

155. Mysore Archeological Report 1925 No. 24. F.E. Paes, P. 6-43.

156. South Indian Inscriptons II (ii) No. 523.

157. E.I. XIII P. 58

158. S.I.I. III 15.

159. Shama Sastry Edn. Kautilya's Arthasrstra BK. VII Ch. XIII P. 382.

which plenty of merchandise of various kinds can be obtained[160]. Some of the ancient roads passed through Rayalaseema were the ancient road passed through Rayalaseema crossing the passes at Pulivendula, Gandi, Pendlimarri[161] and another route that passed throguh Rayalaseema was Kasi-Rameswararam road[162].

There were many roads connecting the towns of Rayalaseema - Gutti - Munimadugu road[163], Ahobilam road passed through Porumamilla, Buddivolu, Cumbum[164] were some of them. Many bullock carts that passed through the high roads made halts at Kandenavolu for rest and to Lubricate the wheels of the carts with Kandena and hence the town obtained its name as Kandenavolu[165]. There were references about the high ways passing from the Kandenavolu.

Kandenavolu to Hyderabad.
Kandenavolu to Adavani
Kandenavolu to Pandrapuram.
Kandenavolu to Srisailam
Kandenavolu to Cumbum

160. Ibid.

161. L.R. 48 (P. 341) Rollamadugu

162. L.R. Patturipalem PP. 248-53.

163. L.R. 6 Racerla P. 236

164. L.R. Dasaripalli.

165. Col. Machenzie local tracts, Vol. 136, M. 657, 658.

Kandenavolu to Cuddapah[166].

In 1646 A.D. the French traveller, Tavernier travelled on the high road from Golkonda to Ramallakota[167]. He travelled from Golkonda to Masulipatnam. From Masulipatnam he went to Madraspatnam. He Travelled to Golkonda passing through Chittoor and Cuddapah districts. He touched Narayanavanam, Gajula mandapam, Tirupati etc. On the way he saw elephant hunting (kedah). Hepassed through Rajampeta Ootukur, and arrived at Gandikota. From Gandikota he went to Golkonda[168].

CONDITIONS OF THE ROADS :

Tavernier gave a detailed account of his journey from Masulipatnam to Golkonda. He says "Throughout all this country at every league the road is closed by gates and barricades where strict watch is kept and all the passers by are questioned as where they came from and where they go, so that a traveller also with out danger and in all safety to carry his gold in his hand. In all these places you find rice to buy[169]." If the roads were safe for travellers in the middle of 17th century, they are also quite safe during the Vijayanagara period which was prosperous in trade and commerce. Rayas took measures for the safety of travel by

166. *Ibid*

167. *Tavernier : Travels in India BK. II Ch. XV P. 53.*

168. *Ibid BK. I. Ch. XVIII P. 271.*

169. *Ibid.*

appointing Kavalgars[170] and by appointing watch to petrol the streets[171], and by enquiries about the conditions of the roads.The local records refer to appointments made for the safety of travel on roads. Sri Krishandevaraya appointed one Yekarla Yerranna as kavalgar of the mountain pass at Rollamadugu[172]. Hearing the complaint of the victims against the attrocities of the robber leader Malachenama Naidu, Krishnadevaraya commanded Vengala Reddy one of the three sons of Kaluru Buddha Reddy, the Mukhasdar of Kandenakota and Kona Uppalapadu to put an end to the career of Malanaidu. Vengalareddy and his brother proceeded against him with great caution. They fell up on the robbers in the palmyragrove so suddenly when they were not in a fit condition to resist as they were highly intoxicated with drink. Nevertheless they fought so valiently that Vengala Reddy lost both his brothers in the battle. But in the end Chennamma was slain to death. A temple was built in honuour of the Reddies where they are worshipped as emancipators of the country[173].

Foreign travellers like Nuniz gave a detailed account how the stolen property was recouped[174].

170. A.M. 4-221, 222; L.R. 44, Rollamadugu, L.R. Racherla, P. 236. L.R. 5 Dasaripalli. PP. 79-80

171. Rayavàchakam.

172. L.R. 44 Rollamadugu.

173. L.R. 6 Kaifiet of Racherla.

174. F.E. Nuniz Ch. XXII PP. 361.

Carts and pack animals were used for transporting articles from one place to another[175]. But, it must be noted that carts were not used on a large scale in some parts of the empire mainly because the roads were not good. But agricultural products and other articles were conveyed by Kavadis[176], had loads, pack horses, pack bullocks, pack ponies and asses. Barbosa mentions that goods were carried by the means of buffaloes, oxen, asses and ponies and refers to the consignment of pepper from Malabar on oxen and asses[177]. Paes and Nuniz refer to oxen and sumptermules as beasts of burden. According to Paes, every year five or six thousands pack oxen used to come to Bhatkal. Caesar Frederick also says that the people rode on bullocks and that they had very commodious place[178]. Barbosa throws up an interesting information that usually there was one conductor or driver incharge of twenty or thirty oxen[179]. According to Amuktamalyada the horses were used for transportation purposes[180]. Sometimes camels were also used for carrying agriculture products to distant places. For example, Barbosa says that to the inland regions great store of cloth came down the river[181].

175. E.C. IV, N.I. VJ. PP. 230-39.

176. Ibid.

177. Barbosa (Stany) PP. 85 and 86.

178. Purchas, His Piligrims X P. 98.

179. Barbosa I P. 163.

180. Canto II V. 96.

181. Barbosa I P. 165.

There were many fecilities to carry the articles of merchandise. Labourers were engaged to carry the goods on their heads. For each head load some rate was fixed. Kavadis were also used[182] to transport to distant places, pack horses, pack bullocks and assses were used[183]. Barbosa refers to the transport of pepper on asses pack cattle[184]. In the streets oxen were used[185]. An inscription of Rollamadugu alludes to the trains of ladden oxen going on high roads[186]. Amuktamalyada describes horses hired to carry the loads[187]. There is a reference in Suksaptati about the Baries (Komati) engaging pack horses[188]. Foreign travellers didnot mention about the wheeled carts being engaged for the transport purposes. But in the 17th century the conditon of the roads in the Deccan was deplorable. Even small carts had to be dismantled and then caried on the roads to be reassembled again[189].

It is said in the Kaifiet of Kandenavolu that an oil crusher used to supply kandena, lubrication oil to the bullock carts engaged to carry stones from Kallur village to Alampuri

182. M.E.R. 18 / 1915.

183. Ibid.

184. Barbosa I P. 203.

185. F.E. Paes P. 237.

186. L.R. 48, P. 341-51

187. A.M.

188. S.S. P. 298-99.

189. Moti Chand : 'Trade and Trade routes in anicient India' Delhi / 1977 P. 26.

for the construction of Isvara Temple. The Oil crusher established an oil crushing mechine, ganuga in a place on the western side of the confluence of the Handri (Agahari) and the Tungabhadra. Soon the place grew into a village and obtained the name Kandenavoli palli, took the forms of Kandenavolu and finally Kurnool. This reveals that wheeled carts were being engaged for transport purposes in those days[190].

There were instances how robber bands attacked the merchants while they were passing thorugh the forests and hill tracts[191]. Therefore the merchants prepared to travel in caravans for fear of the robber bands[192]. Rafiuddin shorazi states that the caravans were plundered by the decoits on the Kampli-Koil konda and Koilkonda Masulipatnam roads during the reign of Mahammad shah IV[193]. At Rollamdugu pass the robbers attacked the Virabalanja merchants. When they were obstructed by the men of Reddy community they killed them[194]. In Amuktamalyada there is a reference of the Robber bands attacking a caravan[195]. We can conclude that travel in Rayalaseema during the period was quite safe

190. Machenzie's L.T. Vol. 136 M. 657-58; LR. 16 Kaifiet of Kandanavolu PP. 360-61

191. LR. 48. Rollamadugu.

192. A.M. 7: 7-21.

193. Jabbars. XXII P. 26.

194. LR. 48 Rollamadugu PP. 341-50

195. A.M. 7-21.

because of the measures taken by the Rayas and the local rulers though there were instances of high way Robbery which were rare.

What emerges from the above study is the fact that in the commercial activities of the period in Rayalaseema we notice well established infrastructure at various levels of collection and distribution of commodities at the lowest level There were santalu or weekly fairs where peasants or producers direcly sold the products to the marchants. At the urban level there was Peta or Santapeta or Bazzar. In these centres the gathering and transactions were also much larger. It is interesting to note that merchant communities of Rayalaseema like Setties, Komatis, Virabalajas Chalumula balanjas and Nanadesis were closely associated with the establishment organizations and maintenance of Santalu, Peta and Bazzars. Secondly, merchants guilds emerged as powerful institutions in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period. The prasasti of merchant classes particularly that of Virabalinjas indicate the high ideals and ethical standards kept by them in their occupations. The philonthropical activities of the merchant classes suggest the sense of obligation to the society. Thirdly, the advent of the Portuguese created wider markets in India and outside for many products of Rayalaseema. Fouthly, in the export and import trades of Rayalaseema merchants contributed much to the revenue of the Vijayanagara Government. The coinage system facilitated the commercial transactions and weights and measures standardized the business of the period. The

existence of a variety of gold, copper and silver coins indicate the trends of market economy in the commercial set-up of the period. Lastly, the Vijayanagara rulers or their officials, feudatories, gave much attention to the construction and maintenance of roads in Rayalaseema and elsewhere. In short the glory of Vijayanagara was in many respects due to the wealth generated through commerce, coinage and transportation in the micro-regions like Rayalaseema in the Empire.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The survey of the "Economic Conditions in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara period (1336 A.D. - 1565 A.D.)" in the preceeding pages based on epigraphy, literary and foreign evidences involved the study of the agricultural production, ownership, alienation, tenures in land, land revenue and other rural taxes, the village community, industries, commerce, coinage and means of transport. The results of the study may be noted as follows.

The two hundred and twenty nine years of unified politiical control and paramountacy imposed on Rayalaseema by the Rayas of Vijayanagara induced the expansion of economic activities, in the fields of agrarian and industrial production and distribution on the more or less well established institutional and conceptional frame work.

Agriculture which was the back bone of the economy of Rayalaseema was promoted both by private and state initiatives. Since Rayalaseema constituted the heart

of the Vijayanagara empire locally known as Raja-Gambhira Rajya, the Rayas promoted agriculture through the construction of irrigation works like tanks and canals which even today irrigate the fields in the region. Private enterprise was not lacking in this direction. Temples, village assemblies and private individuals, officials, nayakas and dandanayakas took up irrigation works of various dimensions depending upon the resources at their command. As in other parts of the Empire the custom of giving land grants for the maintenance of irrigation works existed in Rayalaseema also. The Reddies, the Kammas, Karanams and Talavaris formulated appropriate rules for the distribution of water, provision for the removal of silt and for settling quarrels over the rights of irrigation. Reclamation of waste lands through state's encouragement was another means of the expansion of agriculture.

Telugu sources confirm existence of state, peasant and private ownership in land and forms of alienation like sale, mortgage, and gift. Royal alienation of lands and villages which formed the major part in creating new private ownership because kings only favoured full ownership on the donees when the ruined villages were restored or uncultivable waste lands were brought under cultivation, both of which belonged to the state and where there was no antecedent to ownership to interfere. In cases of alienation of 'occupied' village or lands under cultivation, the Kings purchased ownership or only the state right to its share in the produce was conveyed to the donee and not ownership.

Besides, Kings also possessed some lands which they could alienate on a full ownership basis to the donees. Thus the peasant proprietorship in soil was not only recognised by the kings, but also factors like scarcity of peasants, and abundance of lands which are absent in modern times, were in operation in favour of its growth. Complete ownership in Rayalaseema, considered of eight kinds of rights namely, nidhi, nikshepa, jala, pashana, akshini, agami, sidda and sadhya. In addition to these, the rights like Kraya, (sale), Dana (gift), Bhogya (mortgage) were also recorded. These land rights and the land rights and the land under cultivation and the kinds of crops grown on Uttama, Madhyama and Kanishta lands were recorded in Gudikattu Kavile.

The custom of making payment for the services rendered by religious and non-religious and, officials and non-officials, institutions and individuals resulted in the creation of beneficial and service tenures, in Rayalaseema on a large scale, and there was either total exemption or a token collection of taxes from the persons who held lands under these tenures. As a result, the state not only incurred loss of revenue but also created a class of intermediaries who came to control the means of production but actually did not till the lands themselves. They were mostly absentee land lords and as such leased lands to tenant farmers. The political and military contingencies of the time contributed to the emergence of the nayankara system under which amaranayakas of various grades held lands under the King, for rendering military and administrative services. The state

or the authorised officials at the time of assessment under the Bijavari and Rayarekha system took into considaration the relative productivity, the kind of cultivation, and crops grown. The existence of various land measurements suggest that the rulers in Rayalaseema adopted some sort of survey before the settlement of land revenue. It is difficult to exactly determine the share of the state because the available evidence both theoretical and practical is not exact. However, it apppears that the state's share was not 1/6th as suggested in the works on polity. The Rayas didnot follow the traditional rule because the conditions like continuous wars, maintenance of huge army, the wants and luxuries of nobility required large expenses. Hence to a question whether tax on peasants were heavy or light, no final word is possible. We have epigraphical references to peasants leaving villages on account of oppressive taxation. Some foreign travellers point out that taxes and imposts were large in number and hence burdensome to the people living in villages. Instances of protests against the oppression are recorded in the epigraphs. On such occasions the officials paid attention to the legitimate problems of the people. Since the problem of the period was not one of shortage of arable land, as land was available in plenty, the main aim of the rulers was to encourage the extension of arable land and there by tried to increase the production from land. Hence they knew that over assessment would drive away peasants from land. Land revenue was collected in cash and kind.

The Socio-Economic organization of the village in

Rayalaseema was based on the ideals of self-sufficiency, mutual help and co-operation. The Ayagar system is an example to prove this point. This economic set-up of the village continued undisturbed even though there were many dynastic changes and the ravages of the time. In this economic set up Reddies, Kammas and Poleyas or Panchamas were the main castes engaged in agricultural production. Reddies were the tillers as welll as managers of land and as such formed the back-bone of the agrarian economy in Rayalaseema. The Panchamas constituted the bulk of agricultural labourers. They were looked down and were treated as untouchables. They were often attached to the soil. There were hired labourers in the villages. Further the caste system with its rigid traditions and customs contributed to the degeneration of social conditions in the villages.

There was a good progress in the field of industries both in rural and urban centres. The handloom weaving, iron and steel works, carpentry or wood work, oil production, jaggery and sugar industries which received patronage from the rulers and public. These cottage industries made many villages self sufficient. They were organized in caste basis or as Kulavrittis. These castes of artisans formed into guilds. The guilds maintained the standards in the production and provided training to the young artisans. The guilds also acted as banks to provide loans and to deposite money. They also took up the community welfare activities wuch as building the temples to the caste deities and Kalyana

Mantapas or community halls. Jammalamadugu, Vamanur, Gutty, Rayadurga for silk fabrics, Adavani, Dharmavaram, for oil production and Chittoor, Cuddapah regions for Jaggery and Sugar were famous.

In the commercial activities of the period in the Rayalaseema, we notice well established infrastructure at various levels of collection and distribution of commodities. At the lowest level there was Santalu, or weekly fairs, where peasants or producers directly sold the products to the merchants. At the urban level there was peta or santapeta, or bazaar, In these centres the gathering and transactions were also larger. It is interesting to note that merchant communities of Rayalaseema like Setties, Komatis, Virabalanjas, Chalumula balanjas and nanadesis were closely associated with the etablishment, organisation and maintenance of Santalu, Peta and Bazaars. The merchant guilds emerged as powerful institutions in Rayalaseema during the Vijayanagara Period. The Prasasti of merchant classes particularly that of Virabalanjas indicated the high ideals and ethical standards kept by them in their occupations. The philonthropic activities of the merchant classes suggest the sense of obligation to the society. The advent of the Portuguese created wider markets in India and outside for many products of Rayalaseema. In the export and import trades of Rayalaseema local merchants had a share. In the form of transit - duties or custom duties Rayalaseema merchants contributed much to the revenue of the Vijayanagara Government. The coinage system

facilitated the commercial transactions and weights and measures standardized the business of the period. The existence of the variety of gold and copper coins indicate the trends of market economy in the commercial set-up of the period. The Vijayanagara rulers or their officials, feudatories, gave much attention to the construction and maintenance of roads in Rayalaseema and elsewhere. In short the glory of Vijayanagara was in many respects due to the wealth generated through commerce, coinage and transportation in the micro-regions like Rayalaseema in the empire.

Thus the two hundred and twenty nine years of economic condition of Rayalaseema indicate that though the changes in this field were not as rapid as political life, yet they were not completely absent. It is possible to note certain well-defined ideas in this study, namely, the feudalization of land system, the self-sufficient rural economy, the extension of cultivation, the rise of commercial centres which dealt with agricultural and non-agricultural products, thriving trade, merchant and artisan guilds.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

A. TELUGU MANUSCRIPTS :

Abhishikta Raghavam - Venkatakavi, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

Mackenzie Manuscripts - *(C.P. Brown Collections). Local Records* Volumes 1-48.

B. KANNADA MANUSCRIPTS :

1. *Vyavahara Ganitha* - *Rajaditya* (C. 1200 A.D.)

II. A. ARCHAEOLOGY

Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy (1887-1945)

Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy (1945-1946)

Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey of India (Calcutta 1887 onwards).

Andhra Pradesh Government Report on Epigraphy for 1965, Hyderabad 1968.

Epigraphia Andhrica.

Epigraphia Carnatica Vol 1 to XVI (Bangalore).

Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, 1887 onwards).

Sewell, R.and Aiyangar, S.K. - *Historical Inscriptions of South India,* Madras, 1932.

Rama Rao, M. - *Inscriptions of Andhradesa Vol. II - Summaries, Tirupati* 1968.

Rangachari, V. - *Topographical list of Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* Madras 1919.

Subramanya Sastry, S. - *Epigraphy Report of Tirupati Tirumala Devasthanam,* Madras 1930.

Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam's Inscriptions Volumes I to VI Madras 1937-1951.

Venkataramanayya, N. - *Cuddapah - Inscriptions,* Madras, 1972.

South Indian Inscriptions Vol I to XVI.

Madras Epigraphist's Report.

Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh - Cuddapah Part II Hyderabad, 1978.

Kannada Inscriptions Andhra Pradesh (APG Archaelogy Series).

B. NUMISMATICS

Rama Rao, M. - *Selected Gold and Silver Coins.*

Walter Elliot, Sir. - *Coins of South India.*

Sastry, P.V.P. - *Kakatiya Coins and Measurements,* Hyderabad 1975.

Ramesam, N. - *A Catalogue of Vijayanagara Coins of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum,* Hyderabad 1962.

III. CHRONICLES AND TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS

Abdul Razzaq, - *Eliot's History of India as told by its own Historians.* Vol IV.

Barbosa - *The Book of Durate Barbosa* - 2 Vols, Tr. Longsworth Dames, London, 1918-1921.

Ferishta - *History of the Mohammadan Power in India till the year 1612.*

Jean Baptist Tavernier - *Travels in India,* Tr. V. Ball 2 volumes - London, 1889.

Niccalao Munucci - *Storio do Mogar* (1653-1708) 4 Volumes

Nikitin. Major - *India in the fifteenth Century,* London 1858.

Neelakanta Sastry, K.A. - *Foreign Notices of South India.*

Nuniz - Sewell - *Forgotten Empire,* Delhi 1970

Paes - Sewell - *Forgotten Empire,* Delhi 1970.

Samuel Purchas - *Purchas His Pilgrimes.* 20 Volumes. (Hakluyat Society).

Van Linschoten, J.H. - *The Voyages of John Hugghen Van Linschoten to the East India.* 2 Vols.

Varthema - *Travels* (Hakluyat Society Series).

Vasco-da-gama - *The three voyages* (Hakluyat Society).

William Foster - *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619). London 1921.

IV. PRIMARY SOURCES IN ENGLISH

Kautilya's *Artha Sastra* - Tr. by Shama Sastry, Mysore 1967.

Mahalingam, T.V. - *The Mackenzie Collections* - Summeries of the Historical Manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collections vol. II, Madras 1976.

Vijnanesvara - *Yajnavalkya Smriti* - Mitakshara translated Gharpure, J.R. Bombay 1920.

V. MODERN WORKS IN ENGLISH

Appadorai, A - *Economic Conditions in South India* 1000 A.D. - 1500 A.D., Madras 1936

Arther Geddes - *Man and Land in South India.*

Aiyangar, S.K. - *Sources of Vijayanagara History,* Madras

Baden Powell - *A Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India,* London, 1905.

Baden Powell - *Manual of Land Revenue System and Land Tenure,* London, 1902.

Baden Powell - *Indian Village Community,* London, 1896.

Burten Stein - *State, Peasants and Society in the Medieval South India,* New Delhi, 1980

Dikshitar, R.R. - *Hindu Administrative Institutions,* Madras, 1929.

Deepak Ranjan Das - *Economic History of the Dekkan,* Delhi, 1980.

Francis, W. - *Bellary-Madras Gazetteers,* Madras, 1904.

Frederick Engles, *Anti Duhring.* Mascow, 1969.

Gribble - *A History of the Deccan* - 2 Volumes, London 1895, 1924.

Gupta, K.M. - *Land System in South India. 800 A.D. - 1200 A.D.* Lahore 1933.

Gururajachar, S. - *Economic and Social Life in Karnataka,* Mysore, 1974.

I.C.A.R. *Agricultural Year Book - New Vistas in Crop Yields,* New Delhi, 1970.

Irfan Habib - *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* London, 1963.

Jha, D.N. - *Studies in the Early Indian Economic History,* Delhi, 1980.

Jha, D.N. (Ed) - *Essays in honour of Prof. S.C. Sarkar,* New Delhi, 1976.

Mahalingam, T.V. - *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire,* Madras, 1951.

Motichand - *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India,* New Delhi, 1977

Neelakanta Sastry, K.A. - *A Further Source of Vijayanagara History* - 3 Vols. Madras, 1964

Neelakanta Sastry, K.A. - *A History of South India,* Madras, 1966.

Pal, B.N. - *Principles of Agricultural Economics,* Allahabad, 1939.

Salatore, B.A. - *Political and social Life in the Vijayanagara Empire,* 2 Volumes, Madras, 1934.

Sampath, M.D. - *Chittoor Through Ages,* Delhi 1980.

Sangamesam, M. - *Annamacharya Sahitya Kaumudi,* Tirupati, 1981.

Satyanarayana, K. - *A Study of History and culture of Andhras* Vol. II New Delhi, 1983.

Soils of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1972.

Sundaram, K. - *Studies in Economic and Social Condition of Medieval Andhra Pradesh* 1000 A.D.-1600 A.D. Machilipatnam, 1968.

Thurston - *Castes and Tribes in south India* - Madras, 1909.

Venkataramanayya, N. - *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara,* Madras 1935.

Vijayanagara Sex Centinary Commemoration Volume Dharwar, 1939.

Viraraghavacharya, T.K.T. - *History of Tirupati,* Tirupati, 1982.

Yazdani and Others - *Early History of Deccan,* Hyderabad.

VI. PRIMARY SOURCES IN TELUGU

Kadiripathi, Palakaveri, - *Suka-Saptati,* Madras 1935.

Ketana - *Vijnaneswariyamu* 1895 Edn.

Mallana, Pavaluri - *Sarasamgraha Ganithamu.*

Mackenzie, Col. - *Local Tracts* Vol. XIV & XV. Edited by T. Chandrasekharan, Madras 1952-1955.

Mackenzie, Col - *Gramakaifiyathulu - Guntur Taluk,* Hyderabad, 1982.

Narayanamatya, Ayyaluri - *Hamsa Vimsati,* Hyderabad, 1977.

Pattabhirama Reddy, M. - *Attavana Vyavahara Tantramu,* Kavali 1985.

Pedddana, Allasani- *Manucharitra,* Secunderabad, 1970.

Ramanayya, M.V. - *Padma Salilaku Tiruchanuru Padmavati Devi Vosagina Pramana Patram,* Tirupati, 1984.

Ramayya Pantulu, J. - *Sasana Padyamanjari,* Kakinada, 1937.

Srinatha - *Haravilasamu* - Hyderabad.

Srikrishnadevaraya - *Amuktamalyada* edited by Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, Madras, 1960.

Venkatanathakavi - *Panchatantram,* Madras 1924.

Viswanatha Sthanapathi, - *Rayavachakam,* Hyderabad, 1984.

VII. MODERN WORKS IN TELUGU

Gopi N. - *Vemana Vedamu,* Hyderabad, 1980.

Hanumantha Rao, B.S.L. - *Andhrula Charitra I,* Guntur.

Iswaradutt, K. - *Prachina Charitrika Bhoogolam,* Hyderabad.

Prabhakara Sastry, V. - *Chatupadya Manimanjari,* Madras.

Pratapa Reddy, S. - *Andhrula Sanghika Charitra,* Hyderabad, 1982.

Veerabhadra Rao, - *Vemana Antarala Loki,* Vishakapatnam, 1981.

VIII. GAZETTEERS AND DICTIONARIES.

Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers Kurnool, Hyderabad, 1979.

Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, Anantapur.

Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, Chittoor.

Andhra Pradesh district Gazetteers, Cuddapah, Madras, 1915.

Iswara Dutt, - *Inscriptional Glossary of Andhra Pradesh,* Hyderabad, 1967.

Suryarayandhra Nigantuvulu, Hyderabad, 1988.

Wisons H.H.- *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* (Second Edition) Delhi, 1968.

Bellary district Gazetteer : Francis, Madras, 1904.

PERIODICALS.

Andhra Pradesh Year Book, Hyderabad, 1984.

Bharathi, A Telugu Literary monthly Magazine.

Ithihas, Journal of Andhra Pradesh Archives.

Journals of Andhra Pradesh Historical Reaserch Society.

Ramalingareddy Sastyabdapurthi Commemoration. Volume Pt. II Humanities Walteir, 1940.

Reddi Sanchika.

Sri Sadhana Patrika.

Swarnothsava Ratham Golden Jubilee number, Hindupur, 1983.

JAHRS. Venkataramanayya Commemoration volume, Hyderabad, 1983.

Dikshit, G.S. Economic Conditions in the time of Krishnadevaraya - Vijayanagar Sex-Centenary Commemoration Volume PP 213-231.

Rao, Vekata Gurte, *Source for the History of Vijayanagara,* J.I.H. PP 249-264.

APPENDIX I

IRRIGATIONAL WORKS IN RAYALASEEMA

Location of the work/ Record (1)	Name of the work (2)	Nature of the work (3)	Name of the donar / builder (4)	Date of Construction (5)	Reference (6)
Kundurpi, A.T.P.	Tank	New	Chikkabommanayaka	1340 AD	IA Atp 262
Akavidu, KNL	Canal	New	Harihararaya	--	TI Knl 13
Devarakonda, KNL	Tank	New	Kemisetty	14th Century	ASIAR 26/ 1963-64.
Dharmavaram, ATP	Tanks	New	Kriyasaktivodaya	"	
Gotturu, ATP	Tanks	New	"	"	
Kavulacheruvu, ATP	Tanks	New	"	"	

I Edition, October 1995
1,000 Copies

Copy Right G. Pullaiah

Price : Rs. 80/-

Published by
Smt. G. Devamma
W/o Dr. G. Pullaiah, M.A., Ph.D.,
1-337/26 C, R.K. Nagar, ANANTAPUR - 4.

Printed at
SAPTHAGIRI PRINTERS & SCREENS,
14/142, Kamalanagar, ANANTAPUR.

PREFACE

This study is an attempt to fill the gap in several important aspects of economic History of Medieval Rayalaseema and the period covered is from 1336 A.D. to 1565 A.D. I am highly indebted to Dr. K.S. Shivanna, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Manasagangothri, Mysore, for guiding me throughout the work. His advice was of immence value to me at every stage in preparing this work. I feel highly grateful to the University of Mysore and in particular to Dr. A.V. Venkatarathnam, formerly Professor and Head of the Department of History, Manasagangothri, for helping me in the registration of the subject under study.

My thanks are due to the Librarian, University of Mysore, Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, the Librarian of the S.V. University, Tirupati, Curator, Oriental Research Centre, S.V. University, Tirupati the Archivist, Government Archives, Tirupati, The Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, for having provided all the necessary facilities for my research work. I am grateful to Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi for the financial assistance to pursue my research work. I am also beholden to the **Telugu University, Hyderabad** for the financial support in the publication of this book.

I also thank Mr. P.V. Ramesh, Propritor, Sapthagiri Printers, Anantapur for printing the book very neatly with in the time.

G. PULLAIAH

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mudinapalli, CTR.	Lake at Mudipalliagaram	Desilting	Avasaramkopparasa	1422-46	--
Tripurantakam, KNL	Tank	New	Mallanarya	1441	TI Knl, 361
Tirupati, CTR	lake	Desilting	EmberumannarJiyyar	1456	T.T.D.I.I. 223.
Tirumala, CTR	Channel	New	Dance master of Saluva Narasinga deva	1460	T.T.D.I. II 17
Tirumala, CTR	Two Channels	New	Selevamallaya Deva	1463	Ibid 18
Tirumala, CTR	Channel at Mavandar	New	Srirangambadevi	1466	Ibid 25
Tirumala, CTR	2 Channels	New	Kaddai Ramanujam garu	1467	Ibid 25
Kalahasti, CTR	Cirreri	-	-	1471	SII VIII 491
Ch. Palle, ATP	Tank	New	Gajpati Prince	1478	IA. Atp.87

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Ramapuram, ATP.	Tank	New	Narasimha somayaji and others	1493	S.I.I. IX II 4
Ayyaluru, KNL	Tank Satha-kopa Samudram	New	Narasimhadevaraya	1493	M.N.R. 114/43
Ravulakolanu, CDP	Canal	New	Narasanyaka	1494	I.A.P. Cdp. II53
Ravulakolanu, CDP	Tank	New	Narasanayaka	1494	Ibid 54.
Tirumala, CTR	Canal at Allipuram	New	Ramanayakar	1504	TTDI. II 31
Gudimallam, CTR	Satayyurlake	Maintenance	_	1505-09	SII. VIII 514
Gudimallam, CTR	Tihakavur Channel	"	_	1505-09	Ibid.
Chittor, CTR	Tank Sadasiva Kona	Maintenance	_	1509	ARE 1915

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Cuddapah, CDP	Tank	New	Dharmayya	1510	Cdp. ins. P. 356
Bondalakunta, CDP	Well	New	Bommanayudu	1511	TA Cdp. 132
Kalahasti, CTR	Urandurnlake	Improvement	Templecharities	1511	ARE 166/ 1924
Tirupati, CTR	Tiruchukannuru Yeri	-	Templecharities	1512	T.T.D.I. : II 31
Tirupati, CTR	Tirumala Nayaka Kaluva	New	Tiruvengadaudayar	1512	ibid
Kalahasti, CTR	Kanneleri	Deepening	Temple charities	1514	ARE 164
Tirumala, CTR	Ramanuja-kutteru	-	-	1515	TTDI II 105
Tirumala, CTR	Channel at Maniakonapattanam	New	Kannekabasavarasar	1515	Ibid

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Uravakonda, ATP	Tank	New	Amarada Timmarasu	1517	SII IX II 501
Tirumala, CTR	Tirunnerilake	Desilting	Sittamushatti	1517	TTDI II 118
Devagudi, CDP	Well	New	Devagudi-samsthanamvaru	1518	Cdp. ins 19
Srisailam, KNL	Bhimunikolanu	New	Pevathayya	1518	TI. Knl 448
Cernuru, CDP	Tank	-	Singa Bhupati	1522	IA Cdp. 19
Konakondla, ATP	Tank	New	KodandaRamaraja	1526	TI Atp. 104
Porumamilla, CDP	Well	New	Vengalayya	1526	IA Cdp. 17
Tirupati, CTR	Ammaiyeri	-	-	1526	T.T.D.I. II 106
kalahasti, CTR	Chittaluruyeri	Digging	Chandrasekhara Ayyar	1527	ARES 160/ 1972
Ch. Uppalapudi, CDP	Well	New	Tirumalayya	1528	Cdp. Ins. P. 19

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Sunkesula, CDP	Well	New	Raja Bapayya & Others	-	IA Cdp. 426
Kanneluru, CDP	Well	"	Salakaraju Tirumala	1530	Cdp. Ins. 19
Kuchipapa, CDP	Canal	"	Tirumala Narayanayya	1531	IAP Cdp. II 106
Kalahasti, CTR	kanneleri	Improve	Temple authorities	1532	ARE
Kalahasti, CTR	Todaimannur Yeri	Improve	Temple Authorities	1532	ARE 160/1924
Lebaka, CDP	Tank	New	Timmarasa Balarasa	-	LR 4 P. 238
Nagarageri, ATP	Tallaparige Channel	New	Mahajanas	1537	IA. Atp. 76
AdapanaHalli, ATP	Gulusetukute	Repair	Chikkaverappamma	1537	SII II 591
Budili, ATP	Tank	Repair	"	-	SII Atp. II 591

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Lepakshi, ATP	Channel	-	Old Mahajanas	1538	II Atp. 76
Lepakshi, ATP	Tallapunge Tank Gulsetti Kunte	-	-	1538	II Atp. 76
Modaya, ATP	Spring and Channal	New	Vira nayaka	1538	SII-IX-II 583
TirumadaHalli, ATP	Tank	Repair	Chennegowda, Tumme Gowda	1541	SII-IX-II 597
Tirupati, CTR	Devatatertha	-	-	1540	TTD IV 144
Kalahasti, CTR	Chittaberatri	Improvement	Temple Authorities	1535	ARES152/27
Kalahasti, CTR	Kadamagoneri	Improvement	-	1535	Ibid 156/27
Kalahasti, CTR	Basava-puramyeri	Excavation	Temple Authorities	1535	SII VIII/48

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Dondapadu, ATP	Well	New	Temple Authorities	1542	ARE 224/ 1937
Badekayalapalle, CDP	Venkatappa-yeri Lake	Maintenance		1544	ARE 224/ 1937
Vaddeman, KNL	Tank	New	Venkataraju and Others	1544	TI Knl. 494
Tallapadi, CDP	Tankbund	Repair	Peddaobulesu-nayaka	1546	TI Cdp. 28
Bollupalli, KNL	Well	New	Jangamalli	1548	TI Knl. 18
Halakur, ATP	Doddakunte	New	Malligowd and Carugowd	1551	SII II 643
Ravulakolanu, CDP	Canal	New	Narasanayaka	1554	IA Cdp. 424

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Lower Ahobilam, KNL	Kona samudram	New	Arankusasatakopa Jiyyar	1555	SII XVI 19
Baginayakunipalli, ATP	Tank	Rapair	Ramarayadeva	1556	IA Atp. 403
Kalahasti, CTR	Talangeri	Improvement	Temple authorities	1557	ASIR 33/ 1943-44
Gundala, KNL	Tank	New	Dodlavenkatanarasa nayanagaru's Son	1569	SII IX 11 288
Lower Ahobilam, KNL	Tank	New	Tirumala	16th Century	Sources of Vn. History
Kodden, ATP	Tank	Repair	Sriranganayaka	1578	SII IX II 689
Srisailam, KNL	Riverbund	Repair	Ramarajayya	1574	TI Knl. 479
Devanur, KNL	Well	New	Pedaraja Lokappa	1590	TI Knl. 399/1940

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Bealadona, KNL	Well		Rahula Lingappa Nayaka	1592	SII IX-II 691
Reddicherla, CDP	Tankbund	New	Aubalarasa	1597	Cdp. Ins. 350
Proddatur, CDP	Canal	New	Ramaraja Tirumala	16th Century	LR 41 PP. 52-54